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The Role of Defense Mechanisms of Israeli Society in Relationship to the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict: From “1948 Repression” to Artistic Sublimation

Keren Shechter
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The Role of Defense Mechanisms of Israeli Society
in Relationship to the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict:
From “1948 Repression” to Artistic Sublimation

A DISSERTATION

submitted by

KEREN BARZILAY-SHECHTER

In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

LESLEY UNIVERSITY
September 2012

This page will contain the signed Dissertation Approval Form

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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Abstract

Although many researchers have examined the concept of *defense mechanisms*, almost none have done so from a societal and cultural point of view. The author investigated the following research questions: (1) Which defense mechanisms are used in Israeli society within the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict? What changes, if any, have occurred in these defenses over the years? (2) What are the reasons for the use of these defenses? What are the consequences of the use? (3) How can a transition(s) from the use of a lower-level defense mechanism(s) to a higher-level one(s) occur? What is the role of the arts in this transition(s)? The author reviewed the concept of defense mechanism as coined in 1894 by Sigmund Freud and then developed by later researchers and clinicians. The author also reviewed the ways defense mechanisms are perceived and processed within the realm of expressive therapies. The research paradigm was qualitative and the major investigative method consisted of semistructured interviews of six professionals involved in Israeli–Palestinian relations. The author found that a slow, positive transition has occurred in use of the defenses, namely, a progression from mainly psychotic and early forms of immature defenses such as denial, distortion, and splitting to the use of higher-level expressions of immature forms of defenses, as well as various levels of intermediate defenses, such as projection, repression, rationalization, and isolation. The author suggested practical steps to continue the perceived advancement on the developmental scale of the defenses toward more adaptive and empathic relations between Israeli society and the Palestinians. These steps include creating a more objective media, developing changes within the educational system, generating more symmetric encounters and personal contact between Israelis and Palestinians, while using artistic language in order to increase empathy.

Keywords: defense mechanisms; Israeli – Palestinian conflict; expressive therapies

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Statement of Interest

Many research studies have examined the defense mechanisms of the single individual (Cooper, Perry, & Arnow 1998; Davidson, MacGregor, Johnson, Woody, & Chaplin, 2004; Erdelyi, 2001; Evans & Seaman, 2000; Kim, 2001; Kwon, 2002; Vaillant, 2000). Sigmund Freud (1896/1966) initially discovered the connection between psychopathology and the defense mechanism of repression. As per Freud's later writings (1915/1957, 1923/1961), we understand today that the use of defense mechanisms is also part of normal, everyday functioning (Cramer, 2008). A common definition of defenses refers to them as mental operations that remove some component(s) of unpleasurable affect from conscious awareness – the thought, the sensation, or both (Blackman, 2004). The defenses can also be defined as unconscious mechanisms that are directed against both internal drive pressures and external pressures, especially those that threaten self-esteem or the structure of the self (Cooper, et. al., 1998; Cramer, 2006; Vaillant, 1993).

According to Cramer (2006), the theory of defense mechanisms includes six premises that have been supported by recent research:

1. The theory of defense mechanism development asserts that the use of defenses changes with age. As a corollary, the implication of using any particular defense may change at different ages.
2. Defense mechanism theory says that the use of defenses increases under conditions of stress and anxiety caused either externally or internally.
3. Defense mechanism theory says that the use of defenses should reduce the subjective experience of anxiety.

4. Defenses are effective because they function outside of awareness—that is, they are unconscious. The awareness of the functioning of a defense should render it ineffective.
5. Excessive use of defenses—that is, greater than that found in nonclinical community and student samples—is associated with psychopathology.
6. Use of age-inappropriate, immature defenses is associated with psychopathology; use of mature defenses is associated with healthy adaptation. (Cramer, 2006, 18 – 19).

Processing the defenses, particularly those which are not age appropriate, is important and desirable for adjustment and overall mental health. In my master's thesis (Barzilay-Shechter, 2003), I provided empirical evidence of the ability of psychodrama to work on the defense mechanisms of the client via a variety of methods that differ from the classically accepted psychoanalytical methods of treatment. The results of the research showed how the processing of defense mechanisms by psychodramatic means could pave the way to catharsis, insight, and the acquisition of more adaptive and complex defenses.

None of the studies, though, examined the defense mechanisms from a societal and cultural point of view; rather, they looked at them solely from the single, individual point of view. It is my view that the defense mechanisms are also used by groups of individuals and even entire nations at times for the same purpose of mental protection. Although societies are complex and multilayered, they still contain common tendencies, shared archetypes, and collective patterns, as do the defenses of individuals. Similar to individuals, societies can adopt mature defenses in order to deal with stress and pressure, or they can deny reality and look elsewhere for the source of their problems.

As a Jewish Israeli woman, the concept of defense has been, from time immemorial, one of the most basic foundations and essential core factors in the narrative of the group to which I belong. Throughout history, generations of persecutions and pogroms, reaching their peak in the Holocaust, nearly annihilated the Jewish people. Life without the capacity to defend oneself has widely and deeply influenced the Jewish people's emotional state.

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, which followed World War II, was accompanied by the Israeli necessity to confront its neighboring countries, far and near, that continued to resist the idea of a Jewish state in the specific territory on which it was built in the Middle East. From then on, throughout its over 60 years of independence, the Israeli nation has known only a reality characterized by an active and continuous threat to its existence. The conflict with the Palestinians, claiming the same territory, has always been an integral part of this violent situation. As an Israeli, I can testify that just as there exists an inseparable link between body and mind, physical and mental defenses are also intertwined and inseparable. Frequently, it is hard to know when one ends and the other begins.

This dissertation seeks to explore the psychological implications for Israeli society, of the continuous wars. Is it mere coincidence that the psychoanalytic approach, the “home base” of the term defense mechanism as a psychological process, has been adopted in such a conspicuous manner in Israel and has long been considered to the best of my knowledge the leading theory on the Israeli mental health scene?

Being physically distant from Israel for the first time in my life for a long period has revealed for me my understanding of the connections between my psychological defense mechanisms and my country's political situation in an intense way. How frightening and unconceivable it has been for me, for example, to discover that what I understood regarding the

relationships between Israelis and Palestinians as a defensive posture, inevitable and necessary in order to survive, was viewed by others as an immoral way of living.

A specific encounter during my studies has magnified the connections between my defenses and my national background in a most moving way. At the beginning of my PhD studies, I realized that my closest peer in the PhD program was a Palestinian man. Until that point in my life, I had never met “a Palestinian.” This meeting yielded strong resistance, reflecting many primary fears and historically-rooted anger. Thanks to our advisor and to the nature of Lesley’s courses, the Palestinian man and I were able to progress to a dyadic artistic inquiry regarding subjects that literally “burn” between and around us.

Using the healing power of the arts, we together delved into a journey of self-exploration, from which a friendship emerged. Art as a container enabled the authentic holding of hardships and pain and enabled us to progress to new paths of communication. Other aspects have been added to the experience, softly rounding off its edges. Engaged in the creative process, we have spiraled from the private to the public domain; we have discovered and expressed our own, private version of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Our artistic dialogue has deepened and expanded, releasing inner occupied zones, on the way to nonviolent liberation.

Analyzing this process through the prism of the defenses, I went from using the primary and immature defenses of denial and projection to utilizing the higher-level mechanisms of intellectualization and humor. The more immersed I became in artistic sublimation, the less need I had to defend my political identity or my friendship with Yousef, the “Palestinian man”.

Personally, it took me many years and a distance of an ocean to recognize and understand the Palestinian refugee problem. I grew up in Haifa in the 1970s. I do not remember any deep discussion in school, in the media, or at home that helped me understand the depth of the

problem and the harsh feelings it involved. My own narrow experience is typical of Israeli society. The average Israeli is not familiar with the Palestinian narrative and does not have access to this kind of knowledge.

The combination of the subjects of the defenses and the Israeli–Palestinian conflict has also found its way into my therapeutic work. Mutually obligated to our nations, professions, and friendship, Yousef and I took our personal experiences further and created an expressive therapy workshop, based on our personal experiences with conflict resolution, which we facilitate in various settings such as national and international conferences, high schools, and universities (AlAjarma & Barzilay- Shechter, 2007).

In addition, during the past five years, I have been involved with Artsbridge, a program that brings together Israeli and Palestinian youth in order to foster a sense of understanding of the life experience of “the other” (Barzilay-Shechter, 2010). During the expressive therapy meetings, the Artsbridge group members confront each other’s narratives and deal with themes such as trust, courage, and forgiveness. Time after time, I am inspired by the abilities of the members to glance at their well-nurtured fears and rage, to accept disagreement and a variety of truths, and to move on together despite them. The connections that are built are unique and promising. I am also witness to difficulties regarding the ability to reverse roles with the other in order to gain a deeper and fuller sense of that individual’s experience.

This work on the defense mechanisms in relation to my national conflict prepared me for my current academic challenge: exploring the Israeli–Palestinian conflict through the lens of the accumulated psychological knowledge regarding the defenses. Although the Israeli–Palestinian conflict has been studied from many different perspectives (Bar Tal, 2007; Beinin & Stein, 2006; Canetti-Nisim, Halperin, Sharvit & Hobfoll, 2009; Fox, 2001; Gilbert, 2008; Ginges, Atran,

Medin, & Shikaki, 2007; Price, 2003; Somer & Bleich, 2005), there has been little consideration given to the possible contribution of the role societal defense mechanisms might play in the conflict.

Purpose of the Study

This study's purpose is to explain how understanding individuals and groups in Israeli society through hypothesizing their use of defense mechanisms in relation to its conflict with the Palestinians might promote them to acquire more mature defenses that will hopefully lead to a better and more peaceful relationship.

"Only about myself I knew how to tell" wrote the famous Israeli poet Rachel Bluwstein, (2004, p. 30). Thus, my subject of exploration is the psyche of the Israeli society solely; I do not attempt to say anything about the Palestinian society's psyche or about its use of defense mechanisms. Although the concept of "Israeli society's psyche" alone is complex, with many different components, it still contains overarching themes, tendencies and behaviors.

Research Questions

In this research, I examine three questions, as follows:

1. Which defense mechanisms are used in Israeli society within the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict? What changes, if any, have occurred in these defenses over the years?
2. What are the reasons for the use of these defenses? What are the consequences of the use?
3. How can a transition(s) from the use of a lower-level defense mechanism(s) to a higher-level one(s) occur? What is the role of the arts in this transition(s)?

To address these questions, I conducted semistructured interviews with six experts and scholars from various professions who dealt with the investigated topic in their professional lives.

The current research relied on Cramer's theory of defenses, which includes the six premises described in the Statement of Interest section, and on the assumption that relations between countries are based on human everyday emotions, which generate the psychological processes in everyone. Therefore, these psychological processes can be addressed with the tools of psychology, which have been studied in depth since Freud. The peace process is parallel to an emotional growth process in which children on developmental paths or clients in the clinic gradually give up omnipotence and increasingly recognize the other (Grosbard, 2003).

An axiom on which this study is based is the idea that there is no appropriate solution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict besides ongoing, nonviolent dialogue and, eventually, a long-term peace agreement.

This dissertation is divided into five chapters, including this introduction (Chapter 1). Chapter 2 contains the literature review, which focuses on two subjects: Part One reviews the concept of defense mechanism in its classical form, as coined in 1894 by Sigmund Freud and later developed and broadened by various researchers and clinicians throughout the last century. The ways in which defense mechanisms are perceived and processed within the realm of expressive therapies is also reviewed. Part Two of the literature review traces the emotional development of Israeli society, paying close attention to its use of defense mechanisms in the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Chapter 3 describes the methodology that I used: the interview process, sampling, and data analysis. In Chapter 4, the results of the interviews are presented. Chapter 5 discusses the results with respect to the literature on defenses in general and on the defenses of Israeli society in relation to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict in particular. This last chapter also discusses some limitations of this study and proposes recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

This literature review is composed of two sections. The first section discusses the theory of classical defense mechanisms, which was coined by Sigmund Freud in 1894 and subsequently developed by researchers and clinicians throughout the twentieth century. It focuses on defense mechanisms used by individuals for coping with different types of anxiety. Drawing on research studies, the discussion will survey various aspects of these individual defenses, including their ontogenetic and developmental axes, their normal and pathological aspects, and the ways they are used and treated in therapy. The ways defense mechanisms are perceived and processed within the field of expressive therapy are also reviewed.

Although there have been many research studies that further the understanding of defenses, there has been no prior research studies that, to the best of my knowledge, investigate the applications of individual defense postures as these would relate to an entire society. The second section of the literature review explores the possibility of extending the application of the concept of defense mechanisms from the individual to an entire society. The diagnostic and therapeutic principles developed to understand the individual's defense mechanisms will be examined in relation to a society's reactions to dealing with anxiety. Specifically, this section will focus on the perceived emotional development of Israeli society, focusing on the kinds of defense mechanisms that might be generated in reaction to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

Section One: The Concept of Defense Mechanisms

According to Sigmund Freud's anxiety theory (Freud, 1959a), an organism cannot bear painful feelings of anxiety over extended periods of time, therefore, the ego uses defense

mechanisms to pacify it. Freud defined a defense mechanism as any strategy taken by the individual to protect himself from direct expression of the impulses of the id on the one hand, and the pressure of the superego on the other. Defense mechanisms falsify and distort reality in a variety of ways and require psychic energy drawn from the definite pool of psychic energy available to the personality. In reference to the mediation between the inner and outer worlds, the task of the ego is to fashion defense mechanisms that will protect the individual from instinctual dangers while remaining faithful to the needs of external reality.

According to Cramer (2008), contemporary definitions treat defense mechanisms as theoretical constructions, describing cognitive operations that function to protect the individual from excessive anxiety or other negative emotions. Defense mechanisms also protect the person from loss of self-esteem and, in extreme cases, the loss of self-integration. According to the DSM-IV-TR (2000), a defense mechanism is an automatic psychological process, largely functioning unconsciously, which protects the individual from anxiety by obscuring awareness of internal or external pressure.

Nonetheless, anxiety is vital to the survival of every healthy and adapting organism, constituting a warning signal of danger. However, defense mechanisms against anxiety are also necessary for individuals (Ben-Atar-Cohen, Beyth-Marom, Bitman, & Puch, 1992).

Developmental psychologists recognize defense mechanisms as part of normal development, documenting a chronology of defense development, and establishing that at each developmental stage a specific type of defense mechanism is more prevalent (Cramer, 2007, 2008).

Although defense mechanisms are a necessary part of any individual's normal development, people differ in the types of defenses they adopt, and the frequency, intensity, and flexibility of their defenses (Bitman et al., 1992). Every psychoneurotic syndrome has its own particular group

of major defense mechanisms (Cramer, 2006) and excessive use of defenses is associated with psychopathology (Cramer, 2008).¹

The Developmental Hypothesis: Ongoing Development of Defenses in Individuals

According to Avner Elizur (1987), the formation of defense mechanisms is a process spanning several stages. At their origin is an increase of instinctual energy, libidinal or aggressive, which serves as a trigger and catalyst for fulfilling inner desires. The goal is satisfaction and the dissolution of tension. When the instinctual desire is unacceptable to the ego or the superego, a conflict arises between the desire and the prohibition. This situation raises the level of anxiety which serves to warn of imminent danger that is a threat to the ego. As a result, the ego elicits a defense mechanism which in turn represses the instinctual desire and channels it to another, less threatening, avenue of expression. These channels express the variety of defense mechanisms that the ego can call into service. In other words, in addition to the primary benefit of reducing anxiety, the defense mechanism serves as a conduit for an alternate fulfillment of the desire.

The current accepted assumption is that the chronological order in which defense mechanisms appear is determined by the defenses' measure of complexity (Anthony, 1970; Cramer, 1987, 1991b; Vaillant, 1977). Simple cognitive defenses appear before more cognitively complex ones (Chandler, Paget, & Koch, 1978; Elkind, 1976). The simpler, more primitive defenses characterize the early stages of an individual's development in the period of early infancy. They distort reality in ways that require relatively low levels of cognitive ability, utilize a great deal of psychic energy, and have been found to be less adaptive in later development than more sophisticated mechanisms. Further normal mental and emotional development progresses

¹ See Appendix A for a complete list of defense mechanisms.

from infancy to adolescence, and then in adulthood, more complex, adult and adaptive mechanisms evolve. These mechanisms allow for the growth and development of the personality (Bitman et al., 1992). Accordingly, it is customary to refer to childhood defenses as being arranged in a developmental sequence. In adulthood, the defenses are more likely to be arranged hierarchically with the less developed and less adaptive ones at the bottom of the scale. In other words, the expectation is that the immature defenses will predominate at the beginning of development, whereas the mature defenses will take over a more dominant role at later stages of development.

There is considerable empirical evidence for this theory. Both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies of defense mechanisms have shown that different defenses become predominant at different ages (Cramer, 1991a, 1997a; Cramer & Brilliant, 2001; Cramer & Gaul, 1988; Laor, Wolmer, & Cicchetti, 2001; Porcerelli, Thomas, Hibbard, & Cogan, 1998; Smith &

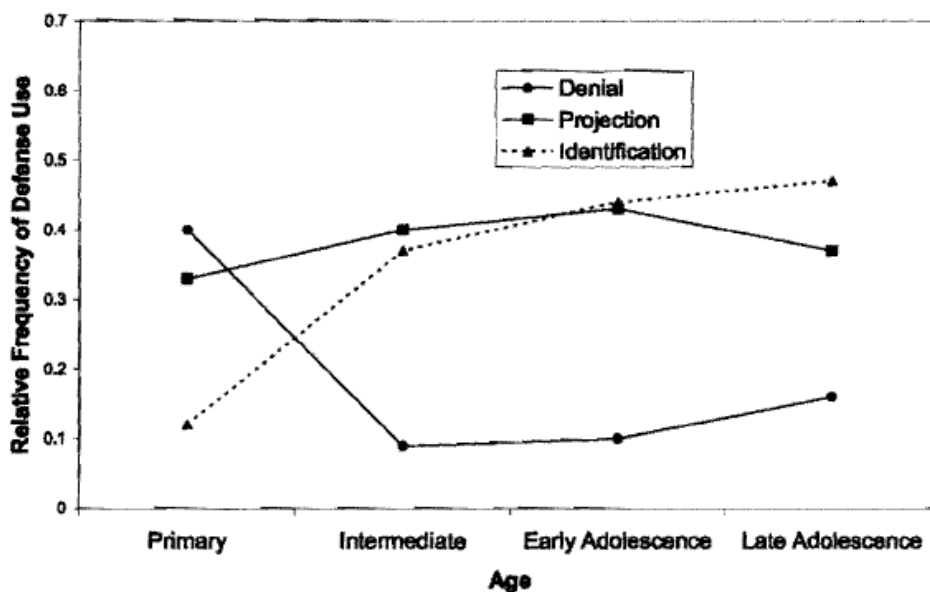


Figure 1.1. Defense use in four age groups. From Cramer (1991b); reprinted with permission from the *Journal of Personality*.

Danielsson, 1982). For example, in research that included more than 300 children, ranging from ages 5 to 16, the use of denial, projection, and identification was determined by coding their TAT stories. As shown in **figure 1.1**, denial was used most frequently by 5-year-olds. After that, its prevalence decreased, and it was used infrequently by older children. Projection, in contrast, was used more frequently than denial by age 9 and into adolescence. By later adolescence (age 16), identification had become predominant, being used more frequently than either projection or denial (Cramer, 1987).

Ten years later, an independent researcher from a different laboratory, John Porcerelli (1998) replicated this study. Porcerelli used the DMM to code narrative stories of 150 children and adolescents from a different region of the United States. The youngest children in this group were 7-years-old, whereas the youngest children in Cramer's study were 5-years-old, and his investigation also included college students. As **figure 1.2** shows, the results from this independent study virtually replicated Cramer's earlier results. They show the same pattern of defense use—the sharp drop in the use of denial after early years, the greater use of projection

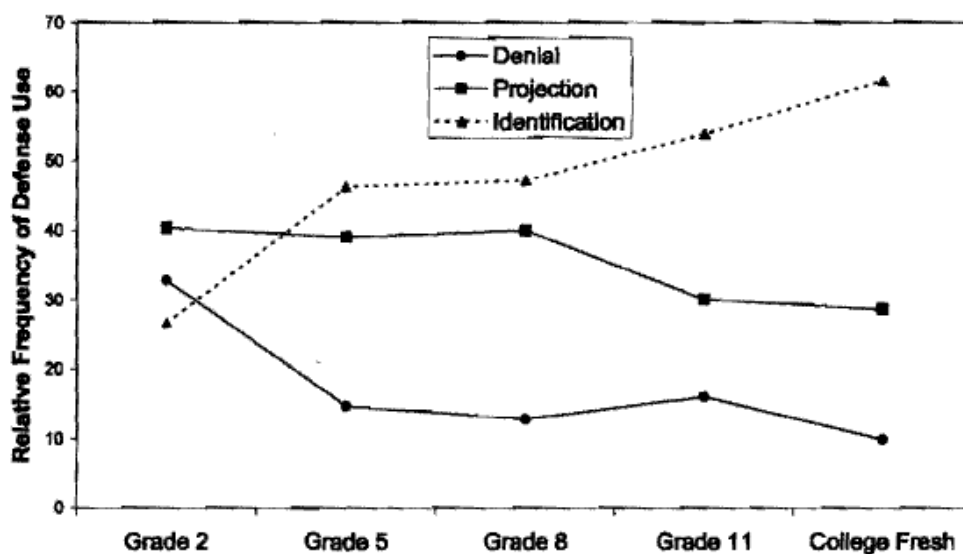


Figure 1.2 Defense use in five age groups: Replication.

during later childhood and adolescence, and a continuing increase in the use of identification until it becomes predominant in late adolescence. Not only was the pattern of results the same, but the relative magnitude of defense use across the two samples was very similar. That is, the points on the two graphs, when matched for age and placed one over the other, were nearly identical. These studies are all consistent in demonstrating the hypothesized development pattern in the use of defenses. A possible drawback, however, is that they were all cross-sectional studies. The findings for each age group came from children who differed in not only age but also possibly in other pertinent characteristics. Although these studies were conducted some 15 years apart and in different regions of the country, it is possible that cohort differences between the age groups, rather than age difference itself, might somehow explain the measured differences in the use of particular defenses. To rule out this possibility, a longitudinal study was carried out, following the same children as they grew older. Children were followed from ages 6 to 9 and were examined at three or four different ages for their use of defense mechanisms (Cramer, 1997b). The longitudinal data also shows that during this time frame, the use of denial decreases while projection increases. The results of this study are shown in **figure 1.3**. Between age 6 years 6 months and 7 years 3 months, there was a statistically significant decrease in the use of denial. Furthermore, there was a statistically significant increase in the use of projection between ages 8 years 0 months and 8 years 8 months. Thus, within a single group of children, the same changes in the use of defenses demonstrated in the cross-sectional studies were measured in the longitudinal study.

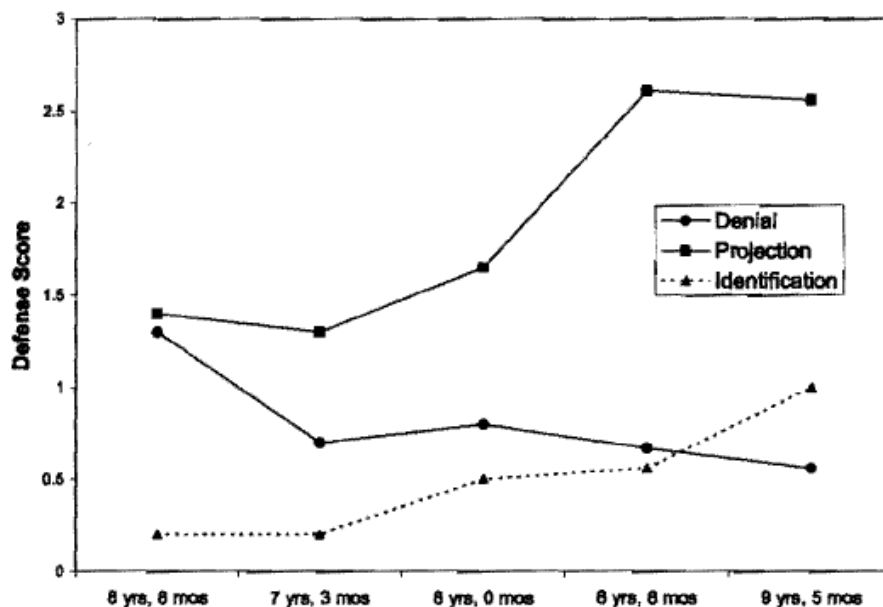


Figure 1.3. Longitudinal study of defense development: Ages 6 years, 6 months to 9 years, 5 months. Cramer (1997b); Reprinted with permission from *the Journal of Personality*

In early childhood, denial, a relatively simple defense mechanism on the cognitive level, is predominant. By age 7, its use declines and remains at a relatively low level in later years. By late adolescence, denial is used infrequently, whereas projection and identification remain important mechanisms for control and adaptation. Later research undertaken by Cramer (2003, 2004) suggested that under normal circumstances, the use of identification declines after late adolescence. On the other hand, the mechanism of projective identification usually increases in dominance only towards the end of adolescence. This complex mechanism is connected to the process of fashioning an identity that takes place during adolescence (Cramer 1998b, 1998c, 1995, 1997b; Erikson, 1968).

Current literature divides defense mechanisms into the following categories (Vaillant, 1993, p. 33):

1. Psychotic defenses: denial, delusional, and distortion.
2. Immature defenses: projection, fantasy, passive aggressive, acting out, and dissociation.

3. Neurotic (intermediate) defenses: displacement, isolation, repression, reaction formation, and intellectualization.
4. Mature defenses: altruism, suppression, anticipation, humor, and sublimation.

The Ontogenetic Approach: The Origin and Evolution of Each Defense

Anna Freud initiated the ontogenetic approach to studying defense mechanisms in 1936 (Cramer, 1987; Lichtenberg, 1983; Lichtenberg & Slap, 1971; Stolorow & Lachman, 1980). This approach examines the development of each defense, tracing its origin from a physiological form to its appearance as an intrapsychic unconscious mechanism (Spitz, 1965).

Every defense mechanism has its own developmental history. At young ages, the defense exists in a rough form and at an older age it changes into a more dominant form that suits the needs of that particular stage. Each defense declines in importance as a newer, more mature form of the mechanism predominates. (Cramer, 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1995, 1997a, 1998c, 1998b, 2008; Cramer, Blatt, & Ford, 1988; Cramer & Block, 1998; Cramer & Gaul, 1988; Hibbard, Farmer, Wells, Difillipo, Barry, & Korman, 1994). Identification, for example, begins in its earliest manifestation in the unity of the infant with the nourishing role of his mother or by the spontaneous imitation of parental gestures and expressions (Spitz, 1965). Later in childhood, children symbolically assume and internalize parental opinions, values, skills, and interests. Identification, thought of as a relatively complex mechanism, reaches its peak during adolescence (Blos, 1979; Cramer, 1987).

According to Cramer (2006), denial develops out of a prototypic physiological response in which the infant rids himself of disturbing external stimulation by withdrawal into sleep. This means that avoiding unpleasant perceptions continues through mental operations in which attention is withdrawn from external stimuli, so that they are avoided or “not seen.” As memory

traces are laid down and the capacity for cognition develops, additional means for dealing with upsetting perceptions of reality become available. In addition to being able to simply blot out the disturbing percept, the child may learn to misperceive it, that is, change the percept into something it is not, something less threatening. Alternatively, as language and the capacity for applying the negative develops, the percept may be acknowledged through its negation. Similarly, the development of the mental operation of reversal makes it possible to change the percept, or its qualities, into their opposite. Further along, denial may occur by means of the related mental operations of minimization, maximization, exaggeration, or in an attitude of nonchalance or indifference in the face of threat or danger. Along with the disavowal of what is present in reality, denial may occur through the substitution of an alternative fantasized reality. Early in life, wish-fulfilling fantasies may occur perceptually, as in a dream or a hallucination. Later, it may occur in play-acting, and still later, in daydreams in which unsatisfactory reality is replaced with gratifying fantasies and unfounded optimism. Thus, the two forms of denial develop and later in life often intermingle.

Many clinical studies support this developmental hypothesis. In an intensive study of 50 deprived infants, Selma Fraiberg (1982) reported on 12 babies who showed the greatest psychological impairment in emotional development. Under normal circumstances, when infants experience discomfort from separation from their mothers, they search their environment to locate her, as a source of comfort. These infants, who were also neglected or abused by their mothers, might understandably be expected to view their mothers as a source of pain. Lengthy videotapes, showing the reactions of these infants when they were physically separated from their mothers for a brief period of time indicated that they failed to see their mothers, even when

they stood directly in their line of vision. Moreover, the babies showed no reaction to their mothers' voices.

The basic characteristic of perceptual denial—warding off perception of external reality—is displayed in Fraiberg's study perfectly. In her study, an external object is clearly present in such a position and form that an infant would normally be expected to perceive it, but the object is not seen. There is a clear emotional explanation for this not seeing, namely that the object, the mother, has been a source of deprivation and abuse to the infant. In Fraiberg's study, this defense was observed in babies as young as 3-months-old and continued to be seen throughout the first three years of life in these children, which was the duration of the study. Although Fraiberg's infants were part of a severely pathological group, a similar defense has been observed under conditions of stress in a "normal" population of 12-month-old babies (Ainsworth & Bell, 1970; Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978).

The experimental work of Smith and Danielsson (1982) demonstrates examples of a more mature form of denial used to avoid a disturbing stimulus: changing the stimulus into something less disturbing. This defense was found in young children, who when tachistoscopically presented with a frightening image, changed it into something more benign.

Another higher form of denial is fantasy. The essence of this form of denial is the imposition of a personal fantasy that has a positive emotional tone and serves a self-sustaining purpose. Cramer (2006, pp. 66-67) describes a clinical example in which a personal myth is basic to the client's self-concept and at the same time, it is obviously false. In this example, a successful, professional woman who had grown up in a Jewish family in Brooklyn described the extreme loneliness she felt as a child. She told her therapist that her parents wanted the family to associate only with other Jewish people, and that since there were no other Jews in Brooklyn,

there was no one with whom to associate. However, it is well known that Brooklyn had many Jews living there at the time in question, thus it is hypothesized that this personal fantasy helped deny painful aspects of the woman's life. However, the unreal way of seeing the world had produced distortions in thinking for the client.

Developmental theories assume that every mechanism coexists with all the others, however, certain mechanisms are of greater importance during certain developmental periods, in conjunction with the development of the ego and environmental occurrences.

Normal and Pathological Aspects of Defense Mechanisms

The idea that people might distort their perception of reality to protect themselves from anxiety and psychological distress was developed by Sigmund Freud (1962) in the context of trying to understand the nature of psychopathology. Although the concept of defense mechanism has been considerably expanded and is now understood as a significant aspect of normal development and adaptive personality functioning, the idea that defenses, when used excessively, are related to psychopathology continues to be important. Taking the view that psychopathology exists on a continuum from very little (normal) to extreme (a psychiatric diagnosis), the findings demonstrate that both the degree and the type of defense used are related to the degree of pathology (Cramer, 2006). There is a general consensus that the more mature defenses (such as humor, altruism, and sublimation) are connected to adaptive functioning (Evans & Seaman, 2000; Porcerelli, Cogan, Kamoo, & Leitman, 2004; Vaillant, 1993).

The debate on the relationship between defenses and adaptation has focused on the immature defenses. Since the defenses can be distinguished by their level of maturity and their developmental propriety, it is mainly the factor of age that must be considered when evaluating the relative adaptive success of the defense. For example, the immature defense of denial is

normative for the child of 5-years-old, but not for the young adolescent. The defense is successful for the young child because its function is not yet understood. When a higher level of cognitive maturity has been reached, the functioning of the defense is exposed (Chandler, Paget, & Koch, 1978) and that defense is usually replaced with a more mature type of defense (Cramer & Brilliant, in press). When children and adolescents use age-appropriate defenses, they protect themselves from psychological pressure. It has been found that children who increase the use of defense mechanisms as a result of a traumatic event are thus protected from psychological worry (Dollinger & Cramer, 1990).

When people use defenses that are not age-appropriate, this is evidence of non-adjusting behavior (Cramer & Block, 1998; Vaillant, 1977, 1992, 1994). Anna Freud (1966) claimed in this context that the defenses tend to have pathological results if they are used before the appropriate age or if they remain in use after the appropriate age. However, this rule does not always hold true. Later research has shown that for adults with a low IQ (90 or under), the use of immature defenses such as denial is linked to a higher level of ego functioning (Cramer, 1999a). Similarly, for a number of psychopathologies, the use of undeveloped defense mechanisms can be critical in the successful maintenance of a minimal level of adjustment (Vaillant, 1992).

A number of psychopathological symptoms, depressive tendencies, and phobias are all correlated with the use of immature defenses; depression and phobias are also negatively related to the use of mature defenses (Kwon, 2000, 2002; Kwon & Lemon, 2000; MacGregor, Davidson, Rowan, Barksdale, & MacLean, 2003).

An additional factor in determining whether or not the defenses are adaptive, demands a consideration of the time frame. In the short term, if a number of additional factors exist, defenses can be successful in improving anxiety reduction and supplying a high measure of

adaptation. In the long term, if the defenses interfere with coping and focusing on problems, they tend to delay and prevent successful adaptation (Pennebaker, 1993; Suls & Fletcher, 1985).

It would thus appear that psychopathology is linked to the lower level of defensive style (Evans & Seaman, 2000). One of the most conspicuous characteristics of the borderline personality, for example, is the use of primitive defense mechanisms. These mechanisms include splitting, idealization, detachment, and denial (Kernberg, 1975; Masterson, 1985; Vaillant, 1994). The antisocial personality, functionally more developed than the borderline personality, is characterized by an extensive use of projection. People with this personality disorder deny their hostile impulses and attribute them to others; they tend to blame their victims for the painful behavior they themselves used toward them. At the same time, a person with an antisocial personality disorder will characteristically minimize or be apathetic to the results of his or her destructive behavior, an approach that represents certain aspects of denial (Cramer, 2006).

The narcissistic personality disorder, more mature than the antisocial, rests on rationalization as a defense mechanism. However, if this defense is not successful in executing its role, it returns to the use of fantasies or to a refusal to recognize information that triggers unrest. In short, it resorts to denial. In addition, narcissists tend to use the mechanism of projection (Millon, 1996). The histrionic personality disorder, the highest functional level among those presented, is characterized by the use of detachment, projection, and denial.

These four personality disorders are therefore connected to the use of low-level defenses, although there appears to be a certain developmental order of defenses. The borderline personality, which is the most dysfunctional of the disorders, is less mature, lower functioning and is connected to the use of the lowest defenses, whereas the other three disorders show

evidence of the use of more developed defenses (Bond, Paris, & Zweig-Frank, 1994; Cooper, Perry, & Arnow, 1988; Lerner & Lerner, 1980).

Cramer examined the link between the defense mechanisms of denial, projection, and identification and the four personality disorders (Cramer 1999c). The results confirm that the theoretical developmental order of the personality disorders is linked to the relative maturity of the defense mechanisms at their disposal. In contrast to the defenses utilized by patients with personality disorders, patients suffering from psychosis use defense mechanisms that are even less developed (Bond et al., 1994; Cooper, Perry, & Arnow, 1988; Cramer, 1999b; Devens & Erickson, 1998; Hibbard et al., 1994; Hibbard & Porcerelli, 1998).

The intensive use of defense mechanisms can cause or accelerate the development of psychopathology. For instance, with reference to obsessions, it has been claimed that the conscious attempt to repress undesirable thoughts can cause the opposite effect—more frequent and more negative thoughts. This can cause a worsening of the obsession and result in more and more attempts at repression (Salkovskis, 1989).

Research shows that people who have experienced trauma and attempt to repress their thoughts about the traumatic event are in danger of developing Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Conscious repression as a defense amongst people with Obsessive Compulsive Disorder (OCD) and PTSD will lead to escalating and sustaining the disorder (McFarlane, 1988; Salkovskis, 1989). In addition to the paradoxical effect of more frequent and more negative thoughts, cognitive repression can also harm the memory: 154 Participants watched a filmed story and then left the lab with instructions not to think about the film, with instructions to think about the film, or with no instructions. Memories of the film, assessed on participants' return to the lab some 5 hours later, showed reliable effects of thought suppression on memory for the

sequence of events in the film. Participants who suppressed thoughts of the film were less able to retrieve the order of events by several measures than were those in the other groups (Wegner, Quillian, & Houston, 1996).

In summary, it is increasingly recognized that defense mechanisms play an important role in psychopathology. This recognition is seen, for example, in the most recent edition of the DSM-IV-TR (2000, pp. 807-808), which includes a defense rating scale to determine the presence of psychiatric disorders. Moreover, there is extensive research demonstrating the connection between defenses and pathology, in both patient and non-patient samples (Cramer, 2008).

Assessment of the Defenses

One of the main problems in assessing the defenses was finding a suitable scale for measuring them. Despite the fact that a number of systems had been developed (Haan, 1965; Joffe & Naditch, 1977), they were problematic (Davidson & MacGregor, 1998). The most popular scale of measurement was the Defense Mechanism Inventory developed by Gleser and Ihelivich in 1969. Despite the fact that the method of measurement itself was objective, its credibility and validity were mixed (Cramer, 1991b).

During a later period, Michael Bond developed a self-reported scale for the defenses, called the DSQ—Self-Report Defense Style Questionnaire (Bond, 1986). The original DSQ was modified and improved several times (Andrews, Singh, & Bond, 1993; Nasserbakht, Araujo, & Steiner, 1996; Steiner, Araujo, & Koopman, 2001). Alongside the theoretical broadening that characterized the study of defenses, new approaches sprang up for evaluating the defense mechanisms. In contrast to the aforementioned past approaches that were largely based on self-reporting, newer methods viewed self-reporting tests as having a logical contradiction within

themselves, after all, it was an unconscious process that was under consideration. Furthermore, there was a need for an accessible measure that was not a self-reported measure in order to assess more complex defenses such as intellectualization, rationalization, and sublimation, which occur and change across the adult years (Cramer, 2008).

The new approaches focused mainly on (a) observation, including a ranking of the use of defenses in clinical interviews conducted by an experienced clinician, and (b) a narrative codification (Cramer, 1991a, 2006; Perry & Cooper, 1989; Vaillant, 1993). One example of the first approach is Perry's Defense Mechanism Rating Scale (DMRS) (Perry 1990). The two approaches together allowed for the free expression of thought, content, and style, and simultaneously afforded the observer a definitive and methodical program for evaluating the presence of defense mechanisms. The specificity of coding regulations made it possible to establish the credibility and validity of measurement.

The Defense Mechanism Rating Scale

In recent years, the DMRS has been one of the most frequently used approaches to assessing the use of defenses. Based on recorded clinical interviews, 27 defenses are rated on a 3-point scale ("absent" to "definite") for frequency of use. From this information, three different scores are calculated. To obtain a particular mechanism's defense score, the number of times each defense occurs is divided by the total instances of all defenses. To obtain a defense level score, all the defense scores of each defense mechanism are added together. To obtain an overall defensive functioning score (ODF), the occurrence of each particular defense is multiplied by the level at which it is placed (1-7). The average of these weighted scores results in an ODF value, which can range from 1 to 7.

As with any measure based on observer rating, the question of inter-rater reliability is critical. According to Perry and Ianni (1998), the inter-rater reliability of the individual defense scales, when based on the consensus scores from several different raters, ranged from 0.37 to 0.79 with a median of 0.57. The reliability of the seven defense levels was better, with a median of 0.74. The reliability for the single ODF score has been reported to be as high as 0.89 (Cramer, 2006). In another report on DMRS inter-rater reliability, the range for the individual defense scale was 0.04 to 0.80 with a median of 0.41. For the six summary defense levels, the inter-rater reliability ranged from 0.30 to 0.66 with a median of 0.57.

Narrative codification

According to Cramer, the use of narrative stories is a particularly successful means of studying defense mechanisms (Cramer, 2006). The creation of stories reflects the inner environment of the story maker: his or her wishes, hopes, fears, and quirks. As Dan McAdams phrased it, “storytelling appears to be a fundamental way of expressing ourselves and our worlds to others” (McAdams, 1993, p. 27). In this expression of self, the storyteller’s typical defenses are manifest.

In the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), pictorial renditions of what might be described as life moments, scenes depicting life experiences that are more-or-less familiar to the storyteller, are presented and the storyteller is asked for a story about the situation. Assuming that the storytellers are telling their stories under similar circumstances, reacting to the same picture, the differences in their reactions must come from inner differences in their wishes, motives, and fears. Thus, the story that each storyteller composes reveals something about his or her personal myth, even though this information was not explicitly requested (Cramer, 2006).

There are several reasons we expect to find defense mechanisms in this kind of storytelling. First, a defense mechanism is a cognitive operation that functions to protect the individual from anxiety or loss of self-esteem. In the storytelling procedure, the person is placed in a situation with an unknown examiner who, by virtue of being the examiner, is in a position of authority. For many individuals, this is a situation that increases anxiety, especially if the examiner is seen as someone who judges the storyteller. Second, the storyteller is requested, without preparation, to create an imaginative story about a somewhat ambiguous picture. Such a request can be experienced as a demand to demonstrate intelligence, creativity, quickness, or other positively valued aspects of the self. The feeling of being examined can be especially strong if the storytelling occurs in an institutional setting. However, even in a more benign setting, the storyteller's self-esteem can be challenged, and this challenge contributes to some anxiety associated with the storytelling process (Cramer, 2006). Thus, the request to tell a story can be expected to arouse anxiety and concern about self-esteem in many people, activating the use of defense mechanisms. In turn, it can be expected that the stories people produce reflect the activation of these defenses, that is, the way in which the story is told is influenced by the operation of the defenses (Cramer, 2006).

The open-ended nature of stories allows for relatively free expression of thought processes. This unhampered verbal production affords a window into the thought processes of the individual, including the workings of defense mechanisms. Because defense mechanisms are rather complex mental processes, they are more likely to be revealed in relatively extensive samples of verbal behavior than in single-word responses. In addition, some means must be available for two or more independent observers to decide whether or not a defense was used. The method that most closely approximates these requirements is the TAT. For this reason, the

Defense Mechanism Manual (DMM; Cramer, 1991a) which is used to score defenses, was developed based on the TAT. The DMM can also be used with the Children's Apperception Test (CAT) or with any other narrative material (Cramer, 2006).

The DMM was developed to assess the use of three defenses (denial, projection, and identification) as revealed in stories told in response to standard TAT or CAT cards. The scoring for each defense is based on seven categories, each designed to reflect a different aspect of the defense. Each category can be scored as often as necessary, with the exception of a direct repetition in the story; in cases of repetition, the category is scored only once.²

Since the original publication of the DMM (Cramer, 1991a), much additional information has been gathered concerning the psychometric properties, validity, and reliability of its measures. Information on inter-rater reliability from 17 different samples that were studied prior to 1998 yielded median Pearson correlations for denial of 0.81, for projection of 0.80 and for identification of 0.64 (Cramer, 1998a). In published studies conducted since 1997 with eight different samples, calculations of inter-rater reliability, based on either Pearson or interclass correlations, yielded median reliability coefficients for denial of 0.78 (range 0.71–0.95), for projection of 0.84 (range 0.71–0.88), and for identification of 0.82 (range 0.74–0.93) (Cramer, 2006).

Another investigation of the psychometric properties of the DMM (Hibbard et al., 1994) supported its reliability, internal consistency, and three-factor structure, as well as the criterion and divergent validity of the three defense measures. An additional study by Hibbard and Porcerelli (1998) investigated the characteristics of the distribution of DMM defense scores. The results indicated that the three defense score distributions were unimodal. Indices of kurtosis and

² See Appendix B for a complete DMM.

skewness showed that the distribution of scores was adequate for applying most inferential statistics. A factor analysis of these data showed that the three defenses were distinct, with mature and immature aspects of each defense loading on the same factor: a denial factor, a projection factor, and an identification factor. These findings were consistent with a previous factor analysis reported by Cramer (1991a).

Working with Defense Mechanisms

According to Cramer, defense mechanisms both protect individuals and harm them simultaneously (Cramer, 2006). The protection achieved is nearly always only partial. Projectors, for example, may save themselves from a negative and difficult self-image, but they will be surrounded by negative people, at least in their perception. Paranoid people may be saved from self-criticism but will suffer from imaginary criticism that others have toward them, and so on. An intensive and rigid use of defense mechanisms can itself turn into a syndrome, harming autonomy and normal development.

Since this is so, processing the defenses, particularly the ones low on the scale of development, is important and desirable for adjustment and overall mental health. The difficulties encountered by individuals during the breakdown of their immature and non-adaptive defense mechanisms are also an opportunity for growth and self-realization. By sloughing off defenses, individuals can become familiar with additional parts of themselves that were previously off-limits. They can expand their personality and contain additional parts, making real contact with themselves and with others. They can also sharpen their self-awareness and awareness of others. The next sub-section describes how it is possible to dismantle defense mechanisms and how best to manage the process.

As previously described by theory, observation, and research amongst clinical and nonclinical populations, there is justification to the claim that there is an appropriate age for the appearance and utilization of defenses. As mentioned earlier, studies show that the use children make of defenses changes over the course of their development in a predictable pattern (Cramer, 1991b; Cramer & Gaul, 1988). These findings have been validated in both latitudinal (Porcerelli et al., 1998) and longitudinal studies (Cramer, 1997b). Based on these studies of children, it is possible to determine a suitable age for the appearance of specific defenses, that is to say, each specific defense is part of one or another normal developmental stage. On the other hand, pathological indications will be expressed by the use of defenses that are not age-appropriate (A. Freud, 1966). In other words, it has been observed that patients with a variety of disorders will rely on defenses that belong to an earlier or later stage of development.

Progress in treatment for pathological indications will reflect the gradual shift from defenses that are not age-appropriate to those that are. This phenomenon, the transition from defenses that are not age-appropriate to those that are, is a facet of successful treatment. Such transitions have been studied and documented in both clinical case study presentations as well as clinical research. Semrad, Grinspoon, and Feinberg (1973), for example, tracked the change in the use of defenses by a young woman recovering from an acute schizophrenic episode. As her condition improved, her use of immature defenses, unsuitable to her age, was reduced. Her use of higher-level defenses, such as dissociation, increased.

Blatt and Ford conducted a study of the effect of psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy on patients exposed to TAT protocols at the time they were admitted to a hospital and again after 15 months of treatment (Blatt & Ford, 1994). Information was available for 79 patients, most of whom were diagnosed as having either psychotic (N=29) or borderline

personality (50). The before and after stories were DMM coded for the use of the three defenses of denial, projection, and identification, making it possible to relate defense use to diagnosis and to other aspects of the patients' functioning (Cramer, Blatt, & Ford, 1988). In addition, change in defense use was determined after a period of treatment. The results showed that on admission to the hospital, patients with a diagnosis of psychosis had a higher total defense use than the patients with a borderline personality ($p < 0.005$). In particular, the patients with psychosis made greater use of the defense of denial, projection, and identification (Cramer, 1999a). The severity of pathology is related to the intensity of defense use, especially the use of the immature defense of denial. After 15 months of treatment, the patients with psychosis showed a sharp decrease in their total defense use. This decrease was greatest for the defense of denial ($p < 0.02$). Furthermore, for the total group of patients ($N=79$), the decrease in all three defenses following treatment was significantly associated with a reduction in the occurrence of bizarre thoughts or actions (i.e. disorganized symptoms measured on an independent scale) (Cramer & Blatt, 1993).

Changes in the use of defense mechanisms were found to be linked to a remission in depressive episodes and a reduction in obsessive-compulsive disorders (Akkerman, Carr, & Lewin, 1992; Albucher, Abelson, & Nesse, 1998). Therefore, it can be claimed that the therapeutic aim regarding defense mechanisms is to restore the patient to mainstream development. As explained previously, the reservoir of psychic energy accessible to the individual is thought to be a finite amount (Freud, 1955). The use of inappropriate defense mechanisms is likely to use up much more psychic energy from a finite and limited pool, at the expense of other channeling possibilities. Reducing the use of unsuitable defenses can release energy to more productive and adaptive uses for the individual. At the same time, eliciting and

using more complex and mature defense mechanisms will not lead to a distorted picture of reality.

Treating Defense Mechanisms

According to Chandler, Paget, and Koch (1978), using certain defense mechanisms will be effective as long as they are not understood. When the individual becomes aware of the mechanism and its function, the “costume” is revealed: the person understands his or her attempt to abstain from certain thoughts and feelings, and the defense is no longer effective. In such cases, a new defense, more complex and more mature, that is not yet understood consciously, will be elicited with the aim of preventing anxiety and preserving self-esteem. In other words, the use of defense mechanisms precedes its understanding (Cramer, 1983, 1991a; Cramer & Brilliant, 2001, Elkind, 1976). The theoretical assumption that treating defense mechanisms should be based on bringing them to awareness is supported by empirical findings. In a suitable therapeutic framework, with a therapeutic alliance that has been cemented, the therapist can investigate defensive behavior with the patient by way of pointed questions, mirrored reflections, and interpretations. In this context, Anna Freud (1966) stressed that the silence and evasiveness of defense mechanisms can never be witnessed directly. At the most, this can be reconstructed retroactively.

The therapist must understand if the behavior is suited to the developmental situation of the patient. Cramer (2006) stressed in this connection, the importance of being mindful of the relation between maturational level and defense expectations. Whereas an adult’s decrease in a specific defense may be a sign of better functioning, this may not be the case for an adolescent, for whom the use of this defense is age-appropriate. An advanced stage of treatment occurs when patients succeed in interpreting a defense to themselves. It is then likely that another, more mature and more adaptive defense whose function is not conscious, will emerge. This new

defense, if in synch with the developmental stage of the patient, should not be processed or interpreted by the therapist, so that its adaptive function will continue to be effective.

In general, it has been found that patients with a low level of personality organization, that is, patients who use primitive and narcissistic defenses for protection against intrapsychic conflicts, such as splitting, denial, projection, projective identification, and experience sharp transitions from omnipotence to devaluation, have improved functioning by interpreting their defense mechanisms. The same holds true for patients of mid-range personality organization, whose dominant defenses of isolation, cancellation, reaction formation, rationalization, and intellectualization, protect against neurotic intrapsychic conflicts (Elizur, 1987).

Possible Concerns in the Treatment of Defense Mechanisms

It is not only important for the therapist to be familiar with the fact that the self-reports of their patients may be defensive, they must also understand just what it is that they are protecting. This means that through their distortions, patients have found a way to live with the pain caused by anxiety and conflicts. Therefore, the decision of whether or not to touch upon a certain defense in treatment must take into account the question of whether or not the defense is adaptive. As Valliant (1994) explains, “Without thinking, to question an immature, irritating but at least partially adaptive defense, the clinicians may risk triggering major anxiety and depression in the patient and thus violate the therapeutic alliance” (p. 49).

It has been found that for patients with the lowest level of personality organization, that is, those who use defense mechanisms such as splitting, denial, and projective identification, along with internal disintegration, in order to avoid an extreme psychotic breakdown, the

interpretation of defenses in treatment can lead them to a psychotic breakdown. Therefore, it is often best to abstain from interpretation (Elizur, 1987).

The Diagnostic Aspect of Defense Mechanisms

Defense mechanisms have a vital diagnostic role in treatment and can be utilized for other purposes. Mechanisms can be examined in order to assess the patient's situation and understand behavior, to predict the results of therapy, and to evaluate the efficacy of treatment.

Assessing the patient's situation. The DSM-IV-TR (2000) categorizes defense mechanisms conceptually and empirically into seven groups of reference that are known as defense levels. In order to rank them, therapists must make a list of up to seven of the most frequent behaviors used by the patient, headed by the most dominant mechanism in use, thus determining the patient's current behavioral level.

The seven levels of defense are:

1. **High-level adaptation:** This is the optimal level of coping with situations including pressure and distress. The defenses in use at this level usually maximize the potential satisfaction of the patient, and enable consciousness of emotions, ideas, and sensations. In addition, these defenses promote an optimal balance between conflicting motivations. Examples of mechanisms used at this level are humor, sublimation, and thought inhibition.
2. **Mental inhibitions:** Defensive functioning at this level removes from consciousness fears, desires, memories, emotions, and ideas that threaten the individual. Examples of defenses used at this level are displacement, intellectualization, isolation, reaction formation, and repression.

3. Minor image distortion: This level is characterized by a distortion of the self-image, the body, and other content that could be part of regulating self-esteem. Examples of defense mechanisms at this level are devaluation, idealization, and omnipotence.
4. Denial: At this level, unpleasant and unacceptable content, emotions, and impulses are held at bay outside the consciousness or without reference to external factors. Examples of defense mechanisms at this level are denial, projection, and rationalization.
5. Major image distortion: This level is characterized by a serious distortion of the image and lack of reference to the self or others. Examples of the defenses used at this level are splitting of the self-image or of another image, projective identification, and autistic fantasies.
6. Action: The defensive functioning at this level copes with internal and external pressure by actions and regression. Examples of defense mechanisms at this level are acting out, apathetic regression, and passive aggression.
7. Lack of defensive regulation: This level is characterized by a failure of the defensive system to protect individuals from the pressure and distresses to which they are subject. Examples of the defense mechanisms used at this stage are delusional projection, psychotic denial, and psychotic distortion.

Millon has claimed (1984), that methodical evaluation of the defense mechanisms is vital to an overall personality assessment. Vaillant (1992) has determined in this context that “today, there is no mental status or clinical formulation that can be judged valid without an attempt to identify the dominant defense mechanisms of the patient” (p. 3). In other words, the defenses

supply a diagnostic pattern that can be used to understand distress and aid in the counseling and direction of clinical administration on the part of therapists (Vaillant, 1994).

Understanding the patient's situation. By including defense mechanisms among the psychological processes occurring in childhood, behaviors that were previously unexplained can now be understood. Current research on communication patterns accepts a baby's abstentious communicative patterns as the use of psychological defense (Colin, 1996). This pattern is meant to protect the baby from the presence of the caretaker, who, based on prior experiences, triggers unpleasant emotions. Defensive processes can explain why some mothers use the same undesirable communication pattern with their children that they experienced. Similarly, they explain why some mothers who were victims of abuse in their childhood turn into abusers (Fonagy, Steele & Steele, 1991; Main & Goldwyn, 1984; Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985).

A wide spectrum of research shows that memories which are not accessible to consciousness affect both conscious memory and a variety of behaviors (Schachter, 1987; Roediger, 1990). Mothers who themselves experienced an undesirable form of communication or abuse, often have repressed their past and do not remember it. In the present, they are prey to the unconscious, which motivates their behavior. Logically, mothers who can remember their negative experiences have the ability to judge their past and criticize it rather than defensively forget it. In this way, the patient is given the option of deciding whether or not to act with their children in the way that they were treated (Eagle, 1995). It is assumed that using the immature defenses of projection and denial distorts the aggressor's view of the victim, first by mistakenly attributing hostile intentions to the child/victim through projection, and second, by not recognizing, therefore denying, the pain and suffering caused to the victim. The effect of

combining these defenses then justifies the aggressor's violent behavior (Brennan, Andrews, Morris-Yates, & Pollock, 1990).

Predicting treatment results. Hoglend and Perry (1998) found that the initial clinical evaluation of defenses was able to predict results of treatment with patients suffering from depression better than an initial evaluation based on other criteria. It has also been found that strategies of coping and defense mechanisms make an independent contribution to predicting the adaptability of patients (Erickson, Feldman, & Steiner, 1997).

Evaluating the efficacy of treatment. Therapists tend to demonstrate the benefits of psychotherapy by heralding the changes in a patient's symptoms as a demonstration of the efficacy of treatment. A more accurate examination would require asking what psychological changes are responsible for changes in symptoms occurring during therapy. The proof of change in the use of defense mechanisms can supply this kind of information. As has been detailed above, the link between therapeutic benefits and changes in the use of defense mechanisms has been proven in a number of clinical studies.

In summary, findings attest to the claim that the classical or Freudian therapeutic approach to defense mechanisms are both diagnostically and practically invested with a large measure of therapeutic merit.

Psychoanalysis, Defense Mechanisms and Expressive Therapies

There is a consensus among psychotherapists that no single approach is clinically adequate for all problems, clients, and situations (Norcross & Arkowitz, 1992). Thus, there has been an increasing desire to look beyond single-school approaches and to see what can be incorporated from other methods of psychotherapy regarding personal growth and change.

According to Sabbadini (2001), analysis and the arts deserve to meet: analysis as a place to interpret the unconscious meaning of artifacts and art as a bridge between internal and external worlds; analysis as a key to understand creativity and art production as an alternative or complement to verbal expression. Analysts and artists are both perceived as practicing craftspeople in search of the truth—often hidden, uncomfortable truths.

The next sub-sections examine the different ways in which defense mechanisms are expressed, understood, and processed within the field of expressive therapies. The examination will pay close attention to three modalities of expressive therapy: psychodrama, drama therapy, and music therapy. It should be noted that there is little existing literature that measures this topic in a controlled methodological manner and there is a paucity of specific clinical research in this area.

General notes regarding defense mechanisms and expressive therapies. In general, the act of creating art can bypass the verbal defenses of the conscious mind's censor (i.e., the superego). In addition to reflecting unconscious processes, the arts actually stimulate the production of more processes, which lead to nonverbal aspects of "working through." There are many highly articulate clients who are often competent at manipulating the use of verbal expression but are likely to be less capable at manipulating imagery, a less familiar form of communication, resulting in materials which emerge with less conscious organization and censorship (Searle & Streng, 2001). Furthermore, in the expressive therapies, the therapeutic work focuses on tangible images created by the client's unconscious. The relative passivity and opacity of the analyst can enable clients to see the material from their unconscious, and the use of symbols can help to access the unconscious mind even more easily because clients feel less defensive. According to

Kris (1953), because of the collapse of ego control, in other words, the defenses, it is essential for a therapist to have empathy with the creative process.

According to Freud, defense mechanisms are designed to secure the ego and save it from experiencing “unpleasure” from within and from the outside world. The ego’s defenses against the id are carried out invisibly, so individuals can only reconstruct them in retrospect by way of pointed questions, mirrored reflections, and interpretations. The expressive therapies, however, afford the ability to work on the defense mechanisms by the use of a variety of methods that are different from classically accepted psychoanalytical methods of treatment. Unlike the traditional indirect methods of working on the defenses, the expressive therapies have the capacity to work both directly and indirectly with and on the defenses.

According to Searle and Streng (2001), in general, when individuals make use of the arts in therapy, they utilize four principal defenses:

1. Condensation: The omission of parts of the unconscious material and the fusion of several unconscious elements into a single entity.
2. Displacement: The substitution of an unconscious object of desire by one that is acceptable to the conscious mind.
3. Symbolization: The representation of repressed, mainly sexual objects of desire by nonsexual objects that resemble them or are associated with them in prior experience.
4. Sublimation: The process by which energy, originally instinctual, is displaced and discharged in socially acceptable ways which are not obviously instinctual.

The term sublimation, in classical psychoanalytic theory, is used to describe a “process postulated by Freud to account for human activities which have no apparent connection with sexuality but which are assumed to be motivated by the force of the sexual instinct . . . [activities

particularly sublimated] are artistic creation and intellectual inquiry. The instinct . . . is diverted toward a new, nonsexual aim and its objects are socially valued ones (Laplanche & Pontails, 1988, p. 431). Schneider Adams describes sublimation as the process facilitating creative and intellectual activity: “For instance, the baby’s instinct to play with feces might be sublimated into making mud pies, molding clay, finger-painting, and, eventually, creating art” (Schneider, 1993, p. 6).

It is important to realize that some clients are not yet sufficiently psychologically mature to express conflicts through the use of symbolic metaphors. Even those who are, can sometimes regress to a state of presymbolic functioning. Without the process of sublimation, meaningful change cannot occur.

Defense mechanisms and psychodrama. According to Holmes (2001), the techniques of psychodrama are a powerful way of helping people access concerns or experiences that in everyday life they might try to avoid thinking about or have even forgotten. By repeating small dramatic moments from the protagonist’s life, the psychodramatic process enables the externalization of aspects of the protagonist’s inner world onto the psychodramatic stage, which often allows the protagonist to access memories and feelings that he or she had long repressed or ignored. From this perspective, psychoanalytic thinking regarding both anxiety and defense mechanisms is similar. Human anxiety is a built-in factor both in the inner and outer life of an individual, and in order to cope with it, the individual uses a variety of mental mechanisms, termed “resistance” in psychodramatic language. One of the main goals of psychotherapy, psychoanalysis as well as psychodrama, is to help clients overcome their resistance so as to acquire more mature and adaptive defenses.

In the process of enactment on the psychodrama stage, clients can be considered to be in a state of light trance. It is possible to see hypnosis, a tool that was extensively used by Freud, as being akin to this state. In such states, it becomes possible to access repressed or forgotten experiences. The same state of trance sometimes continues for the rest of the session. This is not to suggest that all psychodrama is undertaken in a trance state; conscious, cognitive processes are also very important and present during the session.

Owing to the experimental nature of psychodrama, participants are spurred simultaneously to action, consciousness, and emotions. Illustrating a conflict through psychodramatic techniques helps participants explore their psychological issues in real time, in the here and now, with great intensity and sensitivity. Psychodrama involves its members to such an extent that they are caught off-guard and free themselves of their inhibitions and defenses. Such an experience promises intensity on the part of the participants; they are likely to respond to the triggered spontaneity and to reach a catharsis. The emotional catharsis is accompanied by subsequent cognitive insights (Naharin, 1985).

The potential inner connection between the protagonist's defense mechanisms and psychodramatic course is well demonstrated in role reversal, which is a basic technique of every psychodramatic action. With the psychodramatist's help, participants present someone or something other than themselves (Artzi, 1991) or an internal facet of themselves (Kellerman, 1986). The human need to attempt to become the other is clearly evident in little children who play out the roles they see around them. However, as people grow up, they use this powerful and natural tool less and less.

Role reversal, by definition, automatically locates the participant in an alternative role. This tool enables participants to get a wider and more complete picture concerning the issues

being dealt with. It allows them to experience the world from the point of view of the other, and to view themselves as others do. The experience of role reversal contributes to the growth of a more complete self (Moreno, 1975) as well as a more objective view of the self (Blatner, 1988). This tool is an instrument for use in crossing the usual boundaries and limitations of egocentricity. Role reversal with an external figure can expose the projections that the participant casts on that figure. According to Kellerman (1986), when role reversal takes place, the process is out of control and unexpected and new things may surface and touch upon “dead” or suppressed spots within.

Defense mechanisms and drama therapy. Drama therapy is a relatively young discipline, though it has roots that reach far back into the past. Part of the drama therapist’s inheritance includes the use of the person’s ability to symbolize and manifest these symbolizations in ancient healing rites of cultures all over the world and in theatrical events such as those of Ancient Greece (Jenkyns, 2001).

The fields of psychotherapy and drama have long been associated with each other, from the insight gleaned by Freud from Sophocles’ Oedipus to support his clinical observations, to recent writing such as Cox and Theilgaard (1994) exploring the ways in which interpreting Shakespeare can help psychotherapists cue into the unconscious of the client.

The notion of projection is crucial to both psychoanalytic theory and drama therapy. The creation of the state of “as if” which is central to the practice of drama therapy, depends on the phenomenon of projection. One needs to be able to project oneself into a role or a situation in order to partake in an “as if” experience. Melanie Klein’s (1955) conclusions are very relevant to the drama therapist: “Introjection and projection operate from the beginning of postnatal life and

constantly interact. This interaction both builds up the internal world and shapes the picture of external reality” (p. 141).

The assertion that infants engage in a process of projection and introjection to build up their own identity is the very stuff of which drama therapy is made, because the person involved in the drama therapy process, or another actor who might play a role for that individual, continually projects the role onto the enactment space. By means of projection, the person can then introject what has been put outside at a safe distance, so that it can be taken in slowly, in ways that are not overwhelming. Thus, the individual may gradually integrate aspects of the self that have been split off, the splitting having been a way of coping with unmanageable anxiety. One could say that in drama therapy, the method utilizes the splitting process deliberately as a means towards integration, so part of the self is projected onto the role in order to be reintrojected. The creative process necessitates the use of projection and introjection. It is a process that values and utilizes the individual’s ability to symbolize, and it is at the heart of drama therapy.

Slade’s (1954) notions of personal play and projected play, so relevant to the essence of drama therapeutic engagement, both depend on projection. In personal play, the child projects onto the idea of an object, e.g. by running around hooting “I am the train,” whereas in projected play the child projects onto a physical object, e.g. by propelling a toy brick and calling out “this is the train.” In drama, the projection onto a role combines both of these elements: the individual projects onto a character and becomes that character at the same time.

Within the drama therapy group, the group members provide a mirror when they take the role of audience. They are witnesses to the enactment. They also experience their own projections being played out in front of them. Of the theater, Winnicott (1968) said, “When the

curtain goes up, each one of us will create the play that is going to be enacted” (p. 133).

Similarly, in the drama therapy group, there is a relationship between those in action and those witnessing the action, in which projection plays an important part. For the audience, the actors are playing a part of themselves that they can view safely in the mirror the actors provide. The actors can see in the faces and responses of those watching a validation of what they are expressing.

In addition to this, when in role, each group member is also the audience to the other, because the observing ego is able to witness the other and know that each is engaged in an “as if” encounter. The projections are safely held as each accepts the roles being played by both self and other. The projected parts of the self are seen, heard, witnessed, and therefore validated by the group. Gradually, this process means that group members can acknowledge aspects of themselves previously repressed or resisted. These can be improvised, or a group script enacted, or roles taken from plays that are explored.

The actual concept of projection has a function within drama therapy theory: it enables the phenomenon of aesthetic distance to be activated. First defined within drama therapy by Landy (1986), this concept has increasingly become a theoretical cornerstone in drama therapy and has been further explored and elucidated from various angles (Duggan & Grainger, 1997; Jones, 1996). Aesthetic distance can be summarized as the state in which the individual, while in the act of dramatic engagement, is in a state of emotional balance. If, while playing a role, one becomes completely overwhelmed by emotion from the past, one is in a state of under distance. On the other hand, if one is in a state of having no feeling of connection with the role, the connection is solely cognitive and one is in a state of over distance. In this state, the transformational properties of the role cannot be engaged.

Drama therapy offers the individual the midway position, which is that of aesthetic distance. In this state, real feeling can be engaged with and expressed through the metaphor, the distancing mechanism provided by the role. As Duggan and Grainger (1997) put it, “We are distanced in order to become involved, through being drawn into action in order to be transformed by feeling” (p. 81). This can be brought about by the careful setting up of role work within a bounded enactment space, set apart from the discussion and reflection space of the group, and by thorough de-roling to enable the participant to let go of the role without confusion. Central to role work, as Landy (1993) has stressed, is the engagement with a fundamental paradox, “The paradox of drama is to be and not to be simultaneously” (p. 12). The demands on the actor can be great, but the function of aesthetic distance is to keep the individual in balance while engaging parts of the self in projection.

Defense mechanisms and music therapy. Spitz (1959), in his work concerning the early development of the ego, repeatedly emphasized that emotions play a leading role in the formation of organizers of the psyche. Spitz believed that during the first 18 months of life, affective behavior precedes development in all other sectors of the personality by several months. This is important because music therapy concentrates on an expressive affect as well as talking and thinking. If the latter are absent, for example because the client is too regressed, or not ready, or unable to speak or think, then the language of music is important. This can be equally relevant when working with people with dementia, who may regress and revert to preverbal infant-like speech and behavior.

Towse (1991) discusses how including musical instruments in a session can highlight dynamics in a vivid way. Towse links the playing of instruments with allowing the client and therapist to gain access to the client’s anxiety by the analysis of defense mechanisms that might

be heightened by improvising. The significance of the presence and absence of the therapist can also be explored in a way that Towse believes is less accessible in verbal psychotherapy. Aspects of analytical concepts such as the use of free improvisation as a means of self-projection and free association are parts of the core of music therapy.

Priestley (1975, 1980, 1994), a major early developer of music therapy in relation to psychoanalysis, developed analytical music therapy, the characteristic feature of which is that the client's improvising is often stimulated and guided by programmatic titles. The model is based on the psychodynamic constructs of Freud, Jung, Klein, and Lowen, focusing on the literal relationship between psychoanalytic theory and Priestley's music therapy approach. Priestley (1994) gives clinical examples of regression, introjection, suppression, reaction formation, isolation, undoing, intellectualization, and rationalization, among the many other defense mechanisms identified by Freud. According to Priestley, improvisation can help a client regress and unlock repressed feelings, for example, through playing music on the theme of a difficult experience. In Priestley's view, music therapists should strive to find the music in words and the words in music, an idea more fully developed by music therapists in the late 1980s and 1990s (Odell-Miller, 1991; 1995; Streeter, 1995). The purpose of analytical music therapy, as described by Priestley (1980), is to explore the client's inner life and facilitate growth by using words and symbolic musical improvisations.

In Priestley's pioneering work, there is a specific technique that involves several stages and uses a thematic or metaphoric representation, an "as if." The client describes an event or theme to the therapist, and they then both improvise, then discuss, and then play again.

Odell-Miller (2001) argued that with the right training and experience, an integration of psychoanalytic concepts within music therapy can only serve to enhance the experience of

clients. According to her, within a shared therapeutic space with musical and verbal structures, clients can discover their own needs and desires. The function of music in music therapy sometimes takes the place of verbal expression of feeling because words are unavailable or can be too specific or too conscious. Drawing on psychoanalytic concepts to help understand meaning in turn, informs and enables the relationship to develop. These concepts are integrally bound up in a method in which music, thinking, and talking are of equal importance and are bound together to produce an emergent music therapy approach in its own right. Music can have a preverbal function, a holding function, a supportive function, an “action leading to thought” function, all of which can lead to reducing automatic defenses and creating some change that might not have occurred without the music.

Creating music and listening to music in a group format are different aspects of music therapy. Amir (2005) discussed the ability of music to increase communications and to strengthen relations between people. Playing music together is usually a cathartic and enjoyable experience which strengthens the group consolidation and feelings of belongingness to the group.

In summary, according to Levens (2001), it is possible that through the art process, the therapist can help clients realize their unconscious fantasies symbolically to bring them into the scope and control of their ego. Freud believed that art works, like dreams, are an attempt at wish fulfillment, exhibiting both a manifest and latent content; in both there can be a disguised fulfillment of a repressed wish.

Section Two: The Role of Defense Mechanisms in the Israeli Psyche

Historically and Within the Context of the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict

The Israeli–Palestinian conflict is a complex issue. Beginning in 1948 and continuing until the present, it is one of the most serious and longest conflicts of the modern era. This conflict, of course, does not exist in isolation, and its context has an important impact on its development and progress.

At the heart of this conflict are conflicting basic beliefs. The Israelis believe that they are entitled to the land now known as Israel, while the Palestinians believe that they are entitled to the same land they call Palestine. For religious Jewish Israelis and religious Muslim Palestinians, the belief is deeper still, for both sides believe that God gave them the land, and that to give it away or to give it up to another people is a sin (Price, 2003).

Vast numbers of books, articles, and research studies have been published about this conflict, and almost every possible aspect of it has been explored and analyzed from the perspectives of almost all disciplines: history (Beinin & Stein, 2006), geography (Newman, 1989), politics (Kimmerling, 2008), culture (Salzman, 2008), religion (Ginges, Atran, Medin, & Shikaki, 2007), economics (Goldscheider, 2002), psychology (Canetti-Nisim, Halperin, Sharvit & Hobfoll, 2009), sociology (Gilbert, 2008), human rights (B'Tselem, 2011), and more. Some publications express the viewpoint of one of the sides to the conflict, while others offer an objective history of the conflict, trying to maintain an approach that assumes both sides to the conflict have legitimate rights on the same land, rooted in the historical experience of each people (Tessler, 1994; Rotberg, 2006).

A hallmark of the conflict has been its level of violence during virtually its entire duration. Since 1948, fighting has been conducted by regular armies, paramilitary groups, terror

cells, and individuals. Casualties have not been restricted to the military; there have been a large number of fatalities in the civilian population on both sides. In statistics that derive from the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Anti-Defamation League, more than 3,000 Israelis have been killed and 25,000 have been wounded as a result of Palestinian attacks and hostile enemy action, not including those killed during wars, since the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 (Israeli casualties of war, n.d.). It is not clear how many casualties were suffered by the Palestinians, in part because most records are disputed. Numbers cited often include casualties suffered by Palestinians in the Lebanese civil war and on Black September in Jordan (Israeli–Palestinian conflict, n.d.). *B'tselem*, an Israeli information center for human rights, and the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimate civilian [note: civilian or “combat-aged males”? it’s not clear what the 6,385 number refers to] casualty figures for the Israeli–Palestinian conflict during 1987–2010 at 6,385 Palestinian deaths (according to the Israeli army the majority of Palestinians killed in armed conflict were combat-age males).

The conflict has affected all aspects of life in the region, and both sides are paying a high price for the absence of a political solution. For instance, the conflict has exacted a heavy economic toll on both societies. Major escalations in violence lead to declines in asset prices in both Israel and the Palestinian Authority (Zussman, Zussman, & Nielsen, 2006). In Israel, the prolonged conflict with the Palestinians undermines sustainable economic growth, burdens the budget, limits social development, and absorbs most of the energies of the political leadership.

Between 1989 and 2010, for example, the Ministry of Defense received budget increments earmarked for the Palestinian conflict in the amount of 45.3 billion NIS—a sum that exceeded the 2009 budgetary outlay for schools and institutes of higher learning. The prolonged conflict forces Israel to choose again and again between “guns and butter” (Swirski, 2010).

While the economy of the occupied Palestinian territory grew in 2009, unemployment remained high. Economic growth has not altered the reality of worsening long-term development prospects caused by the ongoing loss of Palestinian land and natural resources, isolation from global markets, and fragmentation (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2011). The length and the intensity of the conflict contribute to its perception as an existential and uncontrolled situation. The collective orientations of both sides are based on fear, hate, and anger, which create a vicious cycle that prevents the possibility of ending the conflict (Bar Tal, 2001, 2007). The frustration and the suffering of the people on both sides of the conflict have led many to believe that a solution is, in fact, unattainable (Salinas & Rabia, 2009). The state of Israel has been described in the past as an “inquiry lab for psychological stress” (Breznitz, 1983), a definition that has remained relevant to date (Somer & Bleich, 2005).

The Transition from Defense Mechanisms of the Individual to those of Society

As previously discussed, the classical view of defense mechanisms is that they are psychological strategies used by individuals to cope with reality and to maintain an intact self-image. Human anxiety is a built-in factor, both in the inner and the outer life of the individual, and in order to cope with it, he or she uses a variety of mental mechanisms. An intense and rigid use of defense mechanisms can itself turn into a syndrome, one that harms autonomy and development. Since this is so, processing the defenses, particularly the ones low on the scale of development, is important and desirable for adjustment and overall mental health. One of the main goals of psychotherapy is to help clients overcome their immature use of defenses and to acquire more mature and adaptive defenses (Cramer, 2006; Evans & Seaman, 2000; Vaillant, 1994).

By extension, it is argued below that defense mechanisms are also used by groups of individuals, and even entire nations at times, for the exact same purposes. In my opinion, societies, like individuals, can adopt more mature defenses and deal with reality, or they can deny reality and look elsewhere for the source of their problems. I believe that countries, like individuals, prefer to put the blame for their own failures onto an outside source, since that is safer for their self-image as a nation. In this way of thinking, individuals and groups unite more easily through the use of fear, hate, and violence against an enemy than through the use of trust, acceptance, and cooperation with yesterday's enemy. It is my contention that a healthy country, like a healthy individual, can utilize more mature defenses to cope with and change the situation in which it finds itself. If a person or nation attains the use of mature defenses, then potentially it will not be afraid of its aggressive impulses, since those impulses are reined in by reason and not indulged in lightly. Healthy societies should look both inwards and outwards according to necessity.

This section presents several major historical and psychological events that led Israeli society to its present situation. Of course, it is impossible to refer to all the relevant occurrences and processes. In addition, it should be noted that the historical variables are influenced by various sources, and their objectivity may be doubted. The purpose in this section is to view the role psychological defenses play in relation to events of the conflict and how this impacts upon the emotional processes of individuals and groups within Israeli society.

Viewing the Conflict as a “Defense Mechanism”: Psychological Benefits

This section relies heavily on the writings of Grosbard (2003) who is a clinical psychologist and an expert in conflict analysis and resolution since he is the only author

who writes about the phenomena in psychological terms and who compares the peace process between the Israelis and the Palestinians to the therapeutic one.

Despite the enormously painful price of the conflict, conflicts and wars sparks defense mechanisms which frequently unite the whole nation. Wars function both as physical and emotional defense mechanisms. According to Grosbard (2003), due to the violent conflict with the Arabs, Israeli society does not have to see itself as the conflicted human mosaic it is: Jews and Arabs, religious and secular, Ashkenazi and Sephardi, left-wing and right-wing, men and women, and so on. The common external enemy unites it.

Grosbard (2003) analyzes two other potential psychological benefits from the ongoing wars that can serve as emotional defenses. One example is connected to a personality disorder in which the individual seeks a war outside to justify his or her inner turmoil. In the absence of war, the noise from inside gets louder. Realizing that the voices are only one's own and are not generated by an external reality, a person will do anything to create and initiate confrontations with others. In a similar vein, there have been more than a few countries that went to war because of internal conflicts.

It is posited that another pathological benefit of using war as a defense mechanism is that it can be palliative to find comfort in the presence of pain and national bereavement. The sadness and collective mourning are comforting and an individual can take a personal ride on them. If others are suffering, one's relative position improves. We each have individual processes of mourning different issues and conformity between our inner and outer realities can be a real comfort. (Grosbard, 2003).

It is central to the dissertation that viewing the Israeli conflict with the Palestinians as a defense mechanism, might shed new light on the examination of the entire subject

Jewish History

Throughout its long history, the Jewish nation was scattered and it was even difficult to refer to it as one unit. Ongoing physical separation of its population and suffering from physical and emotional harassment, hatred, and humiliation at the hands of various nations, were repeated motifs in the life of the Jewish people. In addition, inside Jewish society itself, there were continual controversies and splits. Nevertheless, throughout thousands of years, the Jewish people succeeded in preserving their traditions and heritage, developing their holy scriptures, and consolidating around the common yearning for their ancient biblical homeland (Jewish History, n.d.).

According to Grosbard (2003), from an emotional point of view it is possible to diagnose the Jewish people as a paranoid race who developed their fear of persecution from the unbearable circumstances that surrounded them in the Diaspora. Among other reasons, but mainly in order to survive these constant existential anxieties, grandiose beliefs such as seeing themselves as “the chosen people” and their role as “the light unto the nations” were central to the self-perception of the Jews. Over thousands of years, the Jews have nurtured their specialness and arrogant singularity to repress overwhelming existential anxieties. These are the basic emotional ingredients from which Israeli society has been built.³

The Holocaust

The Holocaust has an inextricable connection with the establishment of the State of Israel, which is the formal date of the beginning of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

³ For an overview of the Jewish People before the formation of the State of Israel, see Appendix C.

According to Gilbert (1987) though Jews became increasingly integrated in Europe, fighting for their home countries in World War I and playing important roles in culture and art during the 1920s and 1930s, racial anti-Semitism remained. It reached its most virulent form in the killing of approximately six million Jews during the Holocaust, almost completely obliterating the two thousand year history of the Jews in Europe. The Nazi campaign proceeded from legislative discrimination against Jews in Germany after 1933, to aryanization and liquidation of Jewish businesses and assets, and then the physical ghettoization of the Jewish populations in Nazi occupied Europe from 1939, culminating in their murder and attempted annihilation after 1941.

According to Friedlander (1995, 2007) the Holocaust began with Hitler's rise to power in 1933 and ended on May 8, 1945. In June 1941, Germany attacked the Soviet Union and began the implementation of The Final Solution of the Jewish Question, marking the beginning of the systemized destruction of the "undesirables." During this time, more than 6 million Jews and millions of others in groups that caught the negative attention of Nazi Germany were murdered. During this period 5,000 Jewish communities were wiped out and the total that died represented one third of all Jewish people alive at that time.

The Holocaust was a systematically implemented program, proceeding step-by-step to the annihilation of millions of victims. The destruction process was perfected by a variety of agencies in the expanding boundaries of the Reich, a model which was then applied and further perfected throughout occupied Europe after the war began (Gilbert, 1987, 1992).

According to the Holocaust Encyclopedia (n.d.) most Jewish survivors, who had survived concentration camps or had been in hiding, were unable or unwilling to return to Eastern Europe because of postwar anti-Semitism and the destruction of their communities during the Holocaust.

Many Holocaust survivors moved westward to territories liberated by the western Allies. They were housed in displaced-persons camps and urban displaced-persons centers. In the United States, immigration restrictions strictly limited the number of refugees permitted to enter the country. The British, who had received a mandate from the League of Nations to administer Palestine, severely restricted Jewish immigration there largely because of Arab objections. Many countries closed their borders to immigration. Despite these obstacles, many Jewish displaced persons attempted to leave Europe as soon as possible. The internment of Jewish refugees, many of them Holocaust survivors, turned world opinion against British policy in Palestine. The report of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry in January 1946 led U.S. president Harry Truman to pressure Britain into admitting 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine. As the crisis escalated, the British government decided to submit the problem of Palestine to the United Nations (UN). In a special session, the UN General Assembly voted on November 29, 1947, to partition Palestine into two new states, one Jewish and the other Arab, a recommendation that Jewish leaders accepted and the Arabs rejected.

The Establishment of the State of Israel

According to Price (2003) beginning in the late 19th century, Jewish Zionists immigrated to Palestine to join Jewish communities that had existed in the land since biblical times. They lived alongside Arabs who had come to the country during the Islamic invasion of 638 AD, and alongside the Ottoman Turks, who had maintained control of the region for 400 years. Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918, the League of Nations placed Syria-Palestine under separate French and British mandates. Separated from one another, the Arab people in these regions developed independent nationalistic ambitions and, with the Jews, received conflicting promises of independence from British officials. As mentioned, in order to resolve the growing

number of clashes between the Arab and Jewish communities, the UN put forth a partition plan to create Jewish and Arab states in Palestine. The Jews accepted the partition and declared their independence in 1948. The Arab countries, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt, and the local Arabs/Palestinians rejected the partition and went to war to destroy the newly announced Jewish state. As a consequence of this war, another Arab invasion, and a war in 1967, the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights became occupied by Israel, and a Palestinian refugee population was created.

For the Palestinians, the war of independence signifies the beginning of the events referred to as *al Nakba*, translated as "the Catastrophe." This term is used to describe the fleeing or expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian residents from the newly created state of Israel and the subsequent Israeli ban (ostensibly on security grounds) against their return (40 Years Of Israeli Occupation, n.d.). Through the War of Independence, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) was created while the other Jewish army organizations were dismantled. To this day, the IDF is the central organization in charge of the security of Israel. (Zahal, n.d.)

According to Grosbard (2003), among the emerging Israeli society, aside from the outer manifestations of happiness regarding the victory of the War of Independence, a massive mechanism of denial and repression of feelings of anxiety and helplessness developed. For example, the guiding statement of Herzl, the prophet of the land, "'if you will it, it is no dream'" is fundamentally a statement of omnipotence that says that one, an individual or a society, can actually do anything one wishes. This statement contains the denial of important feelings of weakness and fear, feelings that the Jewish refugees of this new society had experienced to a great extent for all the years of their exile. Thus, the State of Israel was founded with a great deal of joy and fanfare, with euphoria over the victory of the War of Independence and with

motivated feelings of self-actualization. At the same time, the State of Israel was founded with much hidden and uncommunicated internal trepidation that unconsciously has continued to influence and to affect its population.

The Development of Israel

Israel, one of the smallest countries in the world with less than one hundredth of the world's population, can make claim to the following achievements: Israel has the highest ratio of university degrees to the population in the world; Israel is ranked number 2 in the world for venture capital funds, right behind the US; outside the United States and Canada, Israel has the largest number of NASDAQ-listed companies; Israel has the highest average living standards in the Middle East; when Golda Meir was elected Prime Minister of Israel in 1969, she became the world's second elected female leader in modern time; and relative to its population, Israel is the largest immigrant-absorbing nation on earth. Immigrants come in search of democracy, religious freedom, and economic opportunity; Israel has the world's second highest number of new books per capita; Israel is the only country in the world that entered the 21st century with a net gain in its number of trees; Israel has more museums per capita than any other country; Israel has the highest percentage in the world of home computers per capita; and Israel leads the world in the number of scientists and technicians in the workforce, with 145 per 10,000, as opposed to 85 in the U.S, over 70 in Japan, and less than 60 in Germany, with over 25% of its work force employed in technical professions (Shofar Be Tzion Ministries, n.d.).

The War of Independence ended with an armistice and not with peace agreements between Israel and the Arab nations. None of the Arab nations recognized Israel's independence nor negotiated for peaceful relations. Instead, they pledged to remain in a state of war (Price, 2003). According to Grosbard (2003) the euphoria that the Israelis experienced after the great

victory of the War of Independence was operationally translated into hubris. One simply needs to listen to the songs and the popular national battle stories that were created during the first few decades of the establishment of Israel to find epics of heroism and bravery, strength, and fearlessness. These covert contents included within themselves a massive defense against the opposing feelings that were powerfully repressed, the feelings of anxiety from the continual threat to the security of the individual, the society, and the land.

The Six Day War, also known as the 1967 Arab–Israeli War and the Third Arab–Israeli War, was fought between Israel and its Arab neighbors of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Algeria also contributed troops and arms to the Arab forces. In the months before June 1967, Egypt expelled the UN Emergency Force from the Sinai Peninsula, increased its military activity near the border, blockaded the Straits of Tiran to Israeli ships, and called for unified Arab action against Israel. In June 1967, Israel launched a pre-emptive attack on Egypt's air force, fearing an imminent invasion by Egypt. Jordan then attacked the Israeli cities of Jerusalem and Netanya. By the war's end, Israel had gained control of the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. The results of this war have affected the geopolitics of the region to this day (Six Day War, n.d.)

According to Grosbard (2003) as in 1948, in 1967, Israeli society went from real and acute existential anxiety to an impressive victory accompanied with extreme feelings of euphoria and omnipotence. Beliefs of being indestructible and the assumption that the IDF was the strongest army in the world became extensively rooted within Israeli society.

The Yom Kippur War, also known as the Ramadan War, the October War, the 1973 Arab–Israeli War, and the Fourth Arab–Israeli War, was fought from 6-26 October, 1973, between Israel and a coalition of Arab states led by Egypt and Syria. The war began with a

surprise joint attack by Egypt and Syria on the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur. Egypt and Syria crossed the ceasefire lines in the Sinai and Golan Heights respectively, which as mentioned, had been captured by Israel in 1967 during the Six-Day War. The Egyptians and Syrians advanced during the first 24 to 48 hours, after which momentum began to swing in Israel's favor. By the second week of the war, the Syrians had been pushed entirely out of the Golan Heights. In the Sinai to the south, the Israelis struck at the seam between the two invading Egyptian armies, crossed the Suez Canal (where the old ceasefire line had been), and cut off the Egyptian Third Army just as a UN ceasefire came into effect. The Camp David Accords, which came soon after, led to normalized relations between Egypt and Israel—the first time any Arab country had recognized the Israeli state (Yom Kippur War, n.d.). According to Grosbard (2003), the Yom Kippur War caught Israeli society by surprise and it woke up in horror. However, after the great victory of the war, Israeli society let itself feel only euphoria and repressed opposing feelings such as security fears and anxiety.

In 1987, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) started a popular uprising, known as the First Intifada, against Israel, employing terrorist tactics designed to (a) force Israel to retaliate, and (b) achieve international recognition of the Palestinian plight. The growing sense of frustration among Palestinians, particularly in the West Bank, but also in Gaza, and the lack of progress in finding a durable resolution for their humanitarian and nationalistic claims after the establishment of Israel in 1948, were eventually revealed. Israel responded with strong military and police resistance but failed to end the fighting. The First Intifada continued until 1991 (First Intifada, n.d.). According to Grosbard (2003), due to Israeli society's national repression of the Palestinian issue and, similarly, due to its repression of the anxiety related to the losses of the Yom Kippur War, the First Intifada caught Israeli society by surprise. The intifada was resumed

in September 2000 and ended roughly around 2005. The Second Intifada, also known as the al-Aqsa Intifada, repeatedly used terror acts that exposed the whole population of Israel to acute and continual physical and emotional existential threats (Second Intifada, n.d.).

After years of combating terrorism, there was a return to a more traditional type of combat in the 2006 Lebanon War, also known as the July War and the Second Lebanon War. The principal parties were the Hezbollah paramilitary forces and the Israeli military. The conflict started on July 12, 2006, when Hezbollah fired Katyusha rockets and mortars at Israeli border villages, diverting attention from another Hezbollah unit that crossed into Israel and killed three Israeli soldiers, and took two others hostage. The war continued until a UN-brokered ceasefire went into effect on August 14, 2006, although it formally ended on September 8, 2006, when Israel lifted its naval blockade of Lebanon (2006 Lebanon War, n.d.).

According to Bar Tal (2007), this war was a big surprise to Israeli society. However, unlike past surprises that caught Israel mentally unprepared, this time, the shock was related to the things that were discovered during and after the war. The IDF's weakness was exposed in a way that had never happened before; nationally and internationally, its deterrent ability was massively damaged. Many defects in the way that both the IDF and the Israeli government functioned during that war were exposed and the essential inferiority of Israel opposite Hezbollah was discovered. Whereas Hezbollah has been willing to sacrifice many of its fighters, in many sectors of Israeli society, there was not a similar willingness to sacrifice - a fact that dramatically influenced the manner in which combat was conducted.

According to Bar Tal (2007), the war left Israeli society hurt and fearful. Defenses that were useful in the past to reduce the national anxiety could not be used anymore. For some time, the threat regarding the continuation of the Jewish existence in the land of Israel has been

brought to the fore consciously alongside ancient and repressed feelings of horror and despair. However, just as a single individual cannot bear these feelings of horror and anxiety over a certain period of time, neither can a society. After a while, society reverted to use of the familiar defenses: denial, repression, and rationalization. In addition, signs of other defenses, such as reversal, could be found among several Israeli groups who were truly convinced, for example, that Israel and the IDF won this battle.

Concurrent with these wars and others, Israeli society has grown and developed. It is still the only non-Arab, non-Muslim democracy in the Middle East. Although Israel wished to view itself as a humanistic country and is trying to function according to humanitarian codes, with regards to the Palestinian refugees and their situation, the attitudes were different. The two main attitudes towards the Palestinian were avoidance and delegitimization (Bar Tal, 2007; Grosbard, 2003).

Until the last few decades, the Israeli occupation gained little attention with the exception of violent actions made by the Palestinians towards Israelis. Gideon Levi (2006) describes this ignorance of the subject under the name of “the repression of 1948” and includes within this psychological concept a physical dimension of repression, namely, the Israeli attempt to physically erase everything that was on the land before 1948. For example, Israel’s prime minister during the early 1970s, Golda Meir, once declared, “There is no such thing as a Palestinian people” (Grosbard, 2003).

As Boymfield (2006) explains:

The occupied territories are a twilight zone in which reality has no validation. Logic and common sense have no validation there and it’s here, a few kilometers from here. So

close, but totally different things are happening there, completely distorted. And it's happening right here and people are not aware of it. (p. 191)

In fact, the average Israeli does not have access to this kind of knowledge. For example, the media reports and the education curriculum regarding Palestinian topics demonstrates massive use of denial, repression, and rationalization. These defenses have been used over the years in order to hide painful information from the different layers of the public (Bar Tal, 2007).

Patterns of delegitimization of the Palestinians were systematically developed throughout the years of Israel's existence. According to Bar Tal (2007), from the 1950s to the 1970s, this delegitimization was at its highest and the most intense. During that time, the Arabs were introduced into Israeli society with negative images and metaphors (e.g., not human, primitive, a threatening entity). This delegitimization was institutional; it appeared in textbooks and other educational materials, and it still controls the psychological repertoire of Israeli society. In addition, it should be remembered that generations of Jews in Israel grew up on the delegitimization of the Arabs in general, and the Palestinians in particular. For many years this delegitimization was the most dominant voice in public discussion, personal repertoire, leaders' words, media, cultural products, and educational materials. This delegitimization was part of the conflict's culture (Bar Tal, 2007; Halperin, 2007).

Grosbard (2003) diagnosed Israeli society as a paranoid society. "The whole world is against us," (p.35) is what 56 percent of the Jewish public believes. A larger majority, 77 percent, thinks that no matter what Israel does or how much it tries to solve the Palestinian issue, the world will continue to be very critical of it (Yaar & Hermann, 2010). "The Arabs understand only force" (p. 47) is another old, familiar perception of Palestinians among Israelis. According to Grosbard (2003) this is in fact a projective statement that is primarily true about the Israelis.

In summary, many attempts have been made over the years to create a path that will lead to peace and end the long Israeli–Palestinian conflict. So far all attempts have failed and the attitudes of the Israelis towards the Palestinians are still based on fear and aggression. In the last few years, in spite of international efforts, the peace talks did not go forward and instead broke down.

This history of the conflict has been traced in the literature in order to contextualize the understanding of the use of defense mechanisms by Israeli society, within its historical as well as psychological context.

CHAPTER 3

Method

This study aims to explain how the concept of defense mechanisms can be used in order to analyze how Israeli society relates to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

Research Paradigm

The research paradigm was qualitative and the major investigative method consisted of semi-structured interviews with six experts and scholars from different professions who dealt with the Israeli–Palestinian conflict in their professional lives.

According to Creswell (1998), qualitative research is a process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. According to Glense (1998), qualitative methods are generally supported by the constructivist paradigm, which portrays a world in which reality is socially constructed and ever changing. This reality is constructed by individuals based upon their social setting. To understand the nature of constructed realities, qualitative researchers interact and talk with participants about their perception while seeking out the variety of perspectives. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture by analyzing words, reports, and detailed views of informants and the study is conducted in a natural setting.

Research Protocol

This study included six one-on-one in-person semi-structured interviews that were conducted over a period of two years. Semi-structured interviews can be defined as “conversations with a purpose” (Mason, 2002); the interviewer starts with a number of predetermined questions or topics, but then adopts a flexible approach during discussion with the interviewee. As Leech (2002, p. 665) points out,

In an interview, what you already know is as important as what you want to know. What you want to know determines which questions you will ask. What you already know will determine how you ask them.

Reinharz (1992) notes,

Multiple interviews are likely to be more accurate than single interviews because of the opportunity to ask additional questions and to get corrective feedback on previously obtained information (p. 37).

Through the use of the semi-structured interviews, the author tried to actively involve the participants by employing open ended questions to maximize discovery. Careful listening enabled her to introduce new questions as the interview proceeded in making the study interviewee oriented.

Research Participants

The participants in this research included six Jewish Israelis (two women and four men) from different professions in the social sciences and humanities. The interviewees ranged in age from 27 to 70 and differed from each other with respect to many variables, such as living in Israel versus living abroad, political stance, occupation, and socioeconomic background. The author believes that such a broad spectrum of differences among the interviewees added variety to the study's elucidation of the defense mechanisms in the Israeli psyche.

Sampling

Purposeful sampling was used in this study. In purposeful sampling, cases of interest are obtained from people who are acquainted with individuals who might serve as information-rich interview subjects. Miles and Huberman identified 16 different kinds of purposeful sampling

categories (1994), one of them is snowball or chain sampling. By using chain sampling, six cases whose professional work in the field under exploration was relevant to the present study, and who could provide rich information.

The interviewees were chosen because of their knowledge and professional work and accordingly waived their right to anonymity. IRB approval was obtained.

Interview Procedure

The interviews began by having participants sign a written consent letter (see Appendix C). Participants were offered the opportunity either to read the consent form by themselves or to go over it with the author who welcomed expanded discussions to give participants the chance to address any of their personal concerns about their participation. The consent letter described the intent of the study and its areas of focus. A notification regarding the fact that the interviewee would not be anonymous was included.

Each interview took place in a setting familiar to the interviewee, in view of the advice that “Creating the setting that helps the person feel comfortable is fundamental to a good interview” (Atkinson, 1998, p. 30). Approximately the same amount of time, between 90 and 120 minutes, was allocated to each interview. The interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, and then translated from Hebrew to English. Each translated transcription was sent to the interviewees, except for Professor Bar On who was deceased, for a review of accuracy and completeness.

The transcriptions served as the data for this study (see Appendix D). In the analysis stage, the author identified recurring themes within the interviews. These themes are presented in the Results chapter.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data consist of words and observations. Qualitative modes of data analysis provide ways of discerning, examining, comparing, contrasting, and interpreting meaningful patterns or themes from the data. As with all data, analysis and interpretation are required to bring order and understanding to the phenomena. Data analysis involves arranging and organizing the information gathered, and data interpretation seeks to create meaning and make sense of the information (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003).

Data analysis requires creativity, discipline, and a systematic approach. In order to make the best use of the data collected in the interviews, typical analytic procedure were used, which included the following, as Marshall and Rossman (1999, p. 152) suggest (a) organizing the data; (b) generating categories, themes, and patterns; (c) coding the data; (d) testing the emergent understandings; (e) searching for alternative explorations; and (f) writing the report.

Once the data was gathered and transcribed, the author devoted a large amount of time and attention to repeatedly reading the transcriptions for the purposes of categorizing, synthesizing, searching for patterns, identifying themes, evaluating the relationship between specific utterances to the various themes, and examining the relationship between the themes, and constructing meaning from the interviews. She forwarded her analysis to all participants except for the deceased Professor Bar On and offered to meet again if they wanted to discuss her interpretation.

As the author studied the data from the interviews, she was guided by the following research questions:

Research Question 1. What defense mechanisms are used in Israeli society within the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict? What changes, if any, have occurred in these defenses over the years?

Research Question 2. What are the reasons for using these defenses? What are the consequences of the usage?

Research Question 3. How can a transition(s) from use of a lower-level defense mechanism(s) to a higher-level one(s) occur? What is the role of the arts in this transition(s)?

Keeping the research questions in mind as she studied the data, the author identified themes, subthemes, and patterns that appeared in the interviews. The themes and subthemes fell into nine categories: six categories reflected the research questions and three categories did not reflect the research questions, but appeared in the interviews. Finally, the author wrote an account of the participants' responses, organized according to themes. It is important to note that individual participants did not address all the themes; the Results chapter indicates which participants spoke about each them.

CHAPTER 4

Results

In this chapter, the author identifies themes that emerged from the six interviews, presents quotations supporting the themes, and discusses the significance of these themes.

The author extracted the participants' comments according to six themes that emerged from the three research questions, as well as according to three themes that emerged from the interviews. Rather than presenting all of a participant's comments together, they are arranged according to the nine themes. This arrangement makes it easier to follow the participants' views on each issue and to attain a full view of each specific theme. A section on a theme or subtheme is introduced with a quote from a participant that succinctly illustrates the theme.

The themes are presented briefly in the beginning of this chapter, followed by biographies of each participant. The rest of the chapter consists of the development of each theme.

The nine themes are as follows:

- The effect of the physical distance of the participants from the Middle East.
- The need for defense mechanisms in Israeli society.
- Israeli society's defensive style within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
- The effectiveness of defenses.
- The changes in defensive style that Israeli society has undergone.
- The feelings of exhaustion from the existing defense styles used by Israeli society.

- Possible transitions from the use of lower-level defense mechanisms to more adaptive ones.
- The pace of transitions from lower-level to higher-level defense mechanisms.
- The level of optimism among the participants regarding potential advancement within Israeli society from lower-level to higher-level defense mechanisms.

Participants

The six participants were Jewish Israelis working in different ways and from different angles within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In the following paragraphs, the author identifies each participant and presents some relevant professional information about each one. All participants agreed to be named in this study rather than being anonymous.

Dalia Peretz

Dalia Peretz is the former co-principal of Hand in Hand, a Jerusalem based school which promotes Jewish-Arab coexistence in Israel. Peretz was a teacher and director of educational programs. As principal, she was inspired to forge an alternative to the separateness of the Jewish and Arab populations in Israel, and to directly combat the devastating fear of the other. Peretz believed that in the current divided society, relationships between Jewish and Arab children could only succeed if parties meet as equals, without feeling alienated. Thus, Hand in Hand served both Arab and Jewish students. Jewish and Arab children sat in the same classrooms; lessons were conducted in both Hebrew and Arabic, and were taught by teachers from both communities. According to Peretz, the children at this school had a different way of thinking about the conflict. They learned, with each other and from each other, that there is more than just one truth. “If two teachers from different cultures can get along,” Peretz said, “they can serve as role models for the children.” According to her philosophy, in the immensely complex and

difficult situation, if there was ever to be hope for the future, one needs to begin with the children. Hand in Hand schools make room for great differences and diversities, and each group is able to express itself in its own unique way. Additionally, the groups also share common values and beliefs, the most important being that Jews and Arabs, if they so wish, are able to live side by side in peace.

Dana Golan

Dana Golan was executive director of the Israeli organization Breaking the Silence (in Hebrew, *Shovrim Shtikah*). Breaking the Silence is an organization of veteran Israeli soldiers working to raise awareness about the daily reality in the occupied territories. These veteran combatants served in the Israeli military since the start of the Second Intifada in September 2000 and have taken upon themselves to expose the Israeli public to the routine situations of everyday life in the occupied territories, as well as to ensure that these events are discussed openly in Israeli homes. Breaking the Silence organized lectures, hosted meetings, and conducted tours in Hebron and the South Hebron Hills region, with the aim of giving the Israeli public access to the reality that exists in its own backyard, that is rarely portrayed in the media.

The members of the organization endeavor to stimulate public debate about the price paid for a reality in which young soldiers face a civilian population on a daily basis, and are engaged in the control of that population's everyday life. More than 700 testimonies have been collected from soldiers who represent many strata of Israeli society and come from nearly all units operating in the territories.

During her military service in Hebron (a Palestinian territory) Golan witnessed many things, and received many orders that troubled her. It was in Hebron that she had to enter a Palestinian's home to search for weapons in the middle of the night. She witnessed routine

violence towards Palestinians, and heard stories and saw the results of lootings. When she was released from the IDF she joined Breaking the Silence due to a sense of responsibility. “I didn’t choose to become an activist, I didn’t choose to be a soldier, nor did I choose to serve in Hebron. But I’m a truthful person, and the truth must be told.” According to her the conflict is like a problem: you can’t solve it if you don’t know what it is. Less than 10% of Israelis actually serve in the territories. She saw the reality that most Israelis are shielded from and felt she must talk about it. Golan believed that this was the first step towards changing the reality, to force her society to deal with the moral issues of the conflict, to end the conflict by “releasing the ghost.”

Hillel Levine

For more than 25 years, Professor Hillel Levine has been devoted to undergraduate, graduate, professional, and adult nonprofessional education as a Professor of Sociology and Religion at Harvard, Yale, and Boston University. He is the author of many books and articles on how ethnic violence and normative conflict might be resolved.

Levine was president of the International Institute for Mediation and Historical Conciliation (IIMHC), which has developed methods for training political leaders and citizens in “history without hate.” IIMHC was established in order to prevent and resolve violent conflicts that were made more volatile by disputed histories and memories of past injuries. Levine applied his theoretical knowledge and experience in the social sciences, from psychoanalytic theory to organizational development and business administration, to a broad range of domestic and international strategic planning processes and public programs. He has particular experience establishing and running Israeli-Palestinian dialogue groups.

Nir Eisikovits

Dr. Nir Eisikovits is a lawyer and philosopher from Suffolk University whose research has focused on the moral and political dilemmas that arise in post-conflict settings. His research interests include the possibility of sympathy between enemies, the feasibility of forgiveness in politics, and the comparative benefits of truth commissions and war crime tribunals for societies emerging from prolonged conflict.

He has published numerous articles within his research interests in legal philosophy, political philosophy, international conflict, and transitional institutions. Eisikovits has also written abundant opinion pieces on the Middle East conflict for various American newspapers.

Eisikovits was a Senior Fellow at the International Center for Conciliation (ICfC) which tried to use divergent understandings of history as a tool in conflict resolution. ICfC explored collective memory, identity and history in order to construct a shared future that is peaceful, productive and prosperous.

Zvi Lachman

Zvi Lachman, is an Israeli visual artist - sculptor, painter, draughtsman, theorist, and teacher. In his works he proves how eclectic, diverse, and wide-ranging the new representational art that represents the human figure can be. According to him, in this age of reason and psychology, he works against the general climate in which realism, autobiographical confession, and ready-made consumer art hold sway. He is capable of projecting what he knows and understands into the most subtle and intricate components of visual, three dimensional form. His work engages archaic, classical, and baroque traditions.

In the Israeli art climate that often associates identity with a direct response to Israeli politics, Lachman finds his identity and citizenship and his reconstruction of traditional forms and subjects creates a unique, multicultural art. Lachamn translates this view into his social and political actions and develops relations with Palestinians artists and exhibits his work in Palestine.

Lachman, who always viewed himself first and last as an artist, has become an influential teacher who inspired a generation of students. He taught at the Avni School of Art, Ramat Hasharon Art College, Bezalel Academy of Art, and at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art. Lachman's art was exhibited extensively in Israel and around the world in solo and group exhibitions.

Dan Bar-On

The late psychology professor Dan Bar-On worked at the Department of Behavioral Sciences at Ben-Gurion University, where he served as Chair of the Department in 1993-1995 and again in 2003-2005. He was the co-director of the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME) near Beit Jala, an Arab Christian town near Bethlehem, together with Professor Sami Adwan of Bethlehem University. PRIME aims to achieve mutual coexistence and peace-building through joint research and outreach activities. Together Bar-On and Adwan worked on developing an alternative school curriculum based on the reconstruction of the historical narratives during the transition from violent conflict to peace-building. Bar-On specialized in therapy and research with families of Holocaust survivors and wrote numerous articles and books on the subject. In 1985 he launched a pioneering field of research in Germany, studying the psychological and moral after effects of the Holocaust on the children of the perpetrators. Bar-On was the Ida E. King Chair for Holocaust and Genocide Studies at Stockton College of

New Jersey. He also developed a center and an MA program for Conflict Studies and Negotiations. Bar-On published many important books and articles that were translated into several languages.

Emergent Themes

Physical Distance

“I think my political acuity developed mainly here in the States... I realized that there is more than just the history of the nation of Israel that I had learned in high school” (Eisikovits).

It emerged from the interviews that the participants’ physical distance from the Middle East enabled new perspectives, both theoretical and emotional, on the conflict. All of the interviews were conducted outside of Israel; the interviewees remained out of the region for various periods of time, ranging from a few weeks to many years. This tangible separation from Israel and events there enabled new exposure to, and new observation and processing of, old and new types of information. Eisikovitz and Bar On specified the increasing ability toward objectivity that distance enables. According to them, being in a more relaxed atmosphere exposed other layers of the conflict that are usually not part of the common discourse in Israel. These layers are related, for instance, to the historical narrative of the Palestinians and to a more critical self - observance of the Israeli acts and attitudes towards the Palestinians. Bar On and Lachman considered this distance to be a positive element containing the potential for mental growth.

Reasons That Israeli Society Needs Defense Mechanisms

“We’re always a persecuted people. . . . always being hunted . . . It creates a barrier” (Golan).

All the interviewees talked about the cruelty that Jews experienced throughout history in the Diaspora and violent conflict and wars in Israel as factors that create an extremely and consistently stressful living situation for Israelis, both physically and mentally.

The Holocaust, for example, was a traumatic, collective event, even for people who did not experience it directly. Bar On, for example, explored how the implications of this trauma have been reflected in the psychological profiles of second and third generation descendants of Holocaust survivors. He found that the children and grandchildren of survivors may suffer from secondary traumatization as a result of exposure to their traumatized parents. They may be at higher risk of developing psychiatric symptoms, including anxiety and depression.

According to Bar On, Another historical aspect that affects Israeli society's insecurity is related to the fact that the society does not have a history of collective existence. The fact that there was a kingdom of Israel or a kingdom of Judea two thousand years ago, has no bearing on present life. The society has no tangible memories of a collective existence to hold on to. In fact, looking backward may just increase its insecurity and self-doubt regarding its ability to survive as a nation state.

The turbulent political situation at present and the pervasiveness of the subject of conflict in Israeli society are more recent reasons for its use of defense mechanisms. Also the future is involved with the use of defense mechanisms by the Israeli society. According to Golan and Lachman, fears of deterioration of the conflict into an active war, predicting the expected demographical changes among Israelis and Palestinians and understanding the increase of the Muslim movement around the world are only part of the reasons that intensify the anxiety of the society.

The interviewees mentioned two types of fears that trigger the use of defenses: fears stemming from external, concrete sources, and fears deriving from idiosyncratic sources that are not necessarily connected to the objective reality. The use of defenses in these cases protects society from internal pressure and maintains psychological equilibrium. Regarding the fears that stem from the internal sources, Golan said:

I talk with Israelis about this all the time, and the answers I get are not very realistic. . . as if people still feel that tomorrow we can all be destroyed. . . . Tomorrow there can be another Holocaust. There's an inability to see the other side, because of our very self-absorption and due to the anxiety that tomorrow, we won't be here.

Regarding the external sources, she said:

I didn't grow up on hatred, but somehow I did grow up on fear like a lot of Israelis; you become afraid of the other side. . . . When there were all these terrorist attacks, and I was pro-Palestinian, it affected me. I was afraid to walk around in the street in Tel Aviv. Even now, I catch myself watching who is boarding the bus.

These two kinds of fears, which relate to the past, present and future tenses are deeply rooted in Israeli society and they influence and feed each other. In order to cope with these internal and external fears, the society has to broadly engage its system of defense mechanisms, in vigorous, deep, and forceful ways.

Israeli Society's Defensive Style

According to the interviewees, Israeli society makes use of many different types of defenses in order to face the anxiety and uncertainty outlined above. These defenses range from psychotic to mature, and differ with respect to many variables such as the degree to which they

distort reality, their short-term and long-term advantages and disadvantages, and the amount of psychic energy they require. In this section, the author describes twelve defense mechanisms that were brought up during the course of the interviews. The defenses are presented in developmental order, from the lower-level, less adaptive ones to the mature, more desirable ones.

Psychotic Defenses

Denial. The interviewees spoke about this mechanism in the contexts of the “Diaspora Jew,” the “Eastern Jew” or “Ethnic Jew,” Palestinian rights, the IDF’s actions within the occupied territories, and other issues for which the reality does not match Israeli society’s self-perception.

Bar-On and Lachman spoke of a massive process of denial that characterized the early phases of the development of Israeli society’s identity. According to Bar-On, the first stage in the development of the Israeli identity was the monolithic phase. The emerging definition of “the Israeli” stemmed from the need to construct a new kind of Jew, while denying many characteristics of the Diaspora Jew in Europe. New characteristics such as physical strength and the ability to protect oneself were necessary demands in order to be part of the “new Jews.” These characteristics opposed those which had been attributed to the “Diaspora Jew.” They also didn’t leave any room for admitting or expressing feelings of fears and pain.

A similar process occurred according to Bar On in relation to the “ethnic Jew,” that is, a Jew who came from the Arab countries. This type of Jew did not match perceptions of the “new Jew” and needed to assimilate into what had already been created. By denying basic inner characteristics, especially those which were similar to Arab tradition, these immigrants were expected to take on the existing image of the *sabra*. Thus, the identity of “the Israeli” has

<i>Psychotic Defenses</i> “Psychotic mechanisms reorganize the perceptions of a defective central nervous system. Unlike defenses at other levels, psychotic defenses can profoundly alter perception of external reality” (Vaillant, 1993, p. 40).		
Defense	Description	Citation
Denial	Denial refers to the obliteration of external reality and the disavowal of reality in spite of overwhelming evidence of its existence.	“Bibi Netanyahu released a press release that there is no silence that needs to be broken, without even agreeing to meet with us, without hearing us out” (Golan).
Distortion	The distortion defense mechanism is used in order to change or disguise content that in an undistorted form could be threatening and anxiety provoking. Ideas and emotions are altered, reality is distorted, and instincts are exaggerated.	Even a democracy can still distort information” (Bar-On).
<i>Immature defenses</i> “Immature defense mechanisms represent the building blocks of personality disorder” (Vaillant, 1993, p. 45).		
Defense	Description	Citation
Splitting	Split refers to a clear division between “good” and “bad,” also known as idealization or devaluation.	“All of us, all of us want to be right, particularly the Jews” (Levine).
Projection	Projection refers to removing of impulses, ideas, tendencies, wishes, or feelings that threaten the ego, and attributing them instead to others.	“Israel sees the Palestinians as a kind of brutal society, and though there is a lot of truth in that. . .” (Golan).
Regression	This defense mechanism means returning to an earlier pattern of behavior, usually of a childish nature, unsuited to one’s current developmental stage. The specific chosen solution indicates the inability of the individual or the society to cope with a difficult or new situation.	“People wanted to also set up a school in Be'er Sheva... and then the war started in 2006 and I think that the mayor took it off his agenda” (Peretz).
<i>Intermediate (neurotic) defenses</i> “The use of neurotic mechanisms is more private and seems less intrusive to others than the use of immature defenses. Whereas immature defenses perform legerdemain with relationships, neurotic defenses “magically” rearrange ideas and feelings. The self-deception of these defenses is not so gross. Users often feel responsible for their conflicts; they often reflect compromise, not all-or-nothing solutions” (Vaillant, 1993, p. 59).		
Defense	Description	Citation
Repression	Repression refers to the minimization of attention to the source of the conflict and to the removal of certain impulses or thoughts from the	“Most of the common people just stick their heads in the sand” (Eisikovits).

	conscious to the unconscious due to their threat to the ego.	
Rationalization	The defense mechanism of rationalization means that one provides logical explanations in order not to admit the instinctual origin of a behavior.	“Well, they're Arabs, and they're part of the Arab world, so let the Arab world take care of them. It's not our problem, it's their problem” (Lachman).
Isolation	This defense mechanism divides between the emotional part of a thought, act, memory, or impulse and its context, because without this division, anxiety is triggered.	“At our age, there's apathy, I'm sorry to say. . . There are many types of apathy” (Golan).
<i>Mature Defenses</i> “These defense mechanisms effect a delicate balance and allow their users to experience themselves, their objects, their ideas, and their feelings. The results of mature defenses are closer to harmony, counterpoint, or alchemy than to mental illness. Because all of the components of conflict are allowed to be somewhat conscious, mature defenses provide the illusion of being voluntary. Usually the development of mature defenses requires the loving intercession of or identification with another person (Vaillant, 1993. P. 67).		
Defense	Explanation	Citation
Sublimation	Sublimation refers to exchanging the instinctual aim of an impulse for useful socially acceptable goals and channeling the energy of the impulse into promoting these goals. The engagement in this productive activity symbolically represents the impulse or the wish.	“So, I think that ultimately, your position as an artist and your position as a human being overlap. I think that ultimately, the more of a <i>mensch</i> you are as a person, the broader your work as an artist becomes” (Lachman).
Anticipation	Anticipation refers to realistic and affect-laden planning for the future; it involves thinking and feeling about the issues. The function of anticipation may take on symbolic meaning and then become inhibited.	“The idea is to quiet the situation. The fact that people don't die and the fact that it's quiet has a dynamic all of its own. It may be that this dynamic could lead to people having more of a stake in continuing the quiet” (Eisikovits).
Suppression	Suppression refers to the capacity to keep ideas and feelings in mind while waiting without complaining. It involves a semiconscious decision to postpone paying attention to a conscious impulse or conflict.	“Let's agree not to agree about 90% of the things, but let's just agree that people won't die in the next few months” (Eisikovits).
Altruism	Altruism refers to satisfying needs and impulses by identifying with satisfying the needs of others.	“So for example, among the suggestions raised by these groups, one proposal was to preserve the cemetery and renovate it. Another was to build a children's center” (Levine).

Table 1.4 Israeli Society's Defensive Style.

developed along the years through the refusal to acknowledge central aspects of its joining members.

Lachman referred to the implications of this denial by mentioning the vast extraction of historical and cultural roots brought about by the young Israeli society:

In the period in which I was born, there was a very harsh attitude toward foreignness, toward an exile mentality, so that there was an attempt to be strong, to build a new world . . . They had to turn their backs on . . . to deny . . . things like roots. They had to cut a lot of roots to enable the new plant to acclimate in the new soil and to grow at the rate that it grew. . . even as far as language . . . It was taboo to speak any other language [except Hebrew].

In addition to the denial mechanism that was discussed in relation to the past, Golan spoke about contemporary denial. She referred to the intense rejection of discussion of the issues she and the Shovrim Shtikah organization are trying to bring into public dialogue. Often she found herself talking to people who she claimed literally obliterated external reality while denying valid evidence and objective facts. In fact, Shovrim Shtikah was built in order to open the “blind eye” of the Israeli society and to stop the denial regarding the occurrences within the occupied territories.

Distortion. Bar-On showed how through the use of this defense mechanism only some parts of reality are perceived and not others, or parts of reality are perceived in a distorted manner. According to him, paranoia can be constructed to ward off information that has accumulated, as has happened, for example, during the ensuing peace with Egypt or with Jordan. Each of these positive turning points was accompanied by a huge amount of information that was

inflated to cause the Israeli society to immediately grab their weapon and rethink how to beat the Egyptians or the Jordanians since after all they just want the Israelis “in the sea.”

Immature Defenses

Splitting. Israeli society employs this defense mechanism in international relations when it ascribes positive attributes to itself while blaming Palestinian society and ascribing to it negative traits. Splitting is manifested in the inability to perceive that most people, both Israelis and Palestinians, potentially possess both positive and negative qualities. This mechanism is also manifested on a national level: for instance, society splits between Eastern and Western Jews and between immigrants and *sabras*.

Bar-On and Levine referred to the Jews’ long-lasting “ability” to overvalue themselves and devalue the other. In this connection, Levine mentioned the “Jewish tendency” to be “right.” Bar-On talked about a “Jewish ability” which developed over generations in the Diaspora, diminishing the importance of non-Jews. The reason for this was that others were hostile, so the Jews believed that they needed to concern themselves only with themselves. The belief was that the Jews were able to fulfill all their needs and don’t need “the others.”

Bar-On also referred to the use of the splitting mechanism during the development of Israeli society’s identity. He characterized the earliest stage in this development (the monolithic period) by intense use of this defense mechanism. This phase was characterized by a very clear division between “the Israelis” and “the others.” Bar-On demonstrates the function of this mechanism and describes how the devaluation of the Palestinians helps new groups of immigrants to enter the dominant definition of being an “Israeli Jew.”

With regards to the past, Lachman brought up the sense of superiority the Jewish immigrants from Europe felt toward the local Palestinians. These Jews considered European

culture superior and having resources and technological abilities that the Arab settlements were lacking, the Jewish immigrants did not grasp the fact that there were many things they could learn from the locals.

More recent examples of the splitting mechanism were also described in the interviews. Peretz mentioned several hostile occurrences in the Jewish-Arab school she heads, such as distribution of racist materials against Palestinians by Israelis. Levine also shared some specific examples of the devaluing of Palestinians by Israelis, as it manifested itself in the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue groups he facilitated. Lachman stated that devaluation of the Palestinians by Israeli society was engendered by the Palestinians' terror acts. He demonstrated how the use of the split mechanism united its users with their respective group:

The way they used their force and their belief that force is what would change the situation created a situation that united the Jewish settlement and gave the feeling that we were dealing with animals and not with human beings . . . the other side is a demon and it must be destroyed in order for us to survive. You do it in the name of your children and in the name of the most innocent and naïve things there are.

Bar-On mentioned that recently a weakening process has begun in the use of this mechanism. According to him, in the beginning of the intifada, in 2006, the main perception in Israeli society was that Palestinian society was evil, while Israeli society was good. However, in the past few years Israeli society has slowly begun to understand that it is also flawed.

Projection. In the interviews, Lachman, Levine, Golan, and Peretz all mentioned the Israeli attribution of negative traits to the Palestinians. Israeli society presumes to know how the Palestinians feel and think. Ideas or feelings inappropriate to Israeli society's self-image, such as aggression and immorality, are transferred to the Palestinians. Beliefs such as "Arabs understand

only physical strength” and “They are no partners” are well rooted within the society. This process of projecting protects Israeli society from taking responsibility for its own feelings and thoughts, while keeping these ideas and affects in consciousness. This process is usually accompanied by denying the existence of these ideas or feelings within Israeli society itself.

Regression. Peretz and Golan refer to regression generated from external, realistic causes that stem from the worsening of the conflict. Thus, after the Palestinian terror attacks in 1993 and 1994 a massive and long term regression in the will toward peace was validated. Bar-On, however, talked about the fact that any change, even a positive one, may trigger regression among society, as happened temporarily during the peace processes with Egypt and Jordan. Regression affords Israeli society a sense of security because it encourages a return to patterns of behavior that prevent dealing with a threatening situation.

Intermediate (Neurotic) Defenses

Repression. According to the interviews, in Israeli society, there is vast repression of the Palestinians’ living conditions, the violation of their human rights by the IDF, and other issues that put the society’s self-perception at risk. Unconsciously, the society is warding off threatening information and its implications.

Eisikovits and Golan illustrated many examples of repression among Israeli citizens. This active silencing operates in many sectors of the population: citizens and soldiers, liberals and conservatives. They also referred to the Israeli media as a dominant mechanism that withholds information from the public.

Golan stated:

I met Gabi Ashkenazi [the former chief of staff] at the gas station and we started to talk [about the army violating Palestinians human rights]. I kind of cornered him, so he had to

listen, and he said, “I don’t understand why people don’t go to their commander and talk about it.” I said to him, “Gabi, in the army that I was in, that wasn’t done, and in the army that you command, it isn’t done either.”

Bar-On discussed Israeli society’s many voices and inner parts that were silenced during the years of the monolithic stage. According to him, the current growing ability to recognize these parts suggests positive development.

Rationalization. Israeli society uses this mechanism with relation to Israel’s rights to land, to the country’s policies and attitudes towards the Palestinians, to IDF authorities and actions, and more.

Lachman mentioned the ancient explanation that operates as a guiding principle regarding the inseparable connections between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel. He talked about how the land of Israel played a major part in Jewish culture in its widest sense, in religious literature, and how it gave rise to the feeling that the land was a place from which the Jewish people had been torn from and wanted to return.

In parallel, Lachman mentioned another guiding rationale that has been prevalent in Israeli society for many years. In contrast to the logic that unites the Jews with the land, this logical explanation disconnects the Palestinian from the land. The Palestinians were perceived by the Israeli society as “few peasants who lived here” and were actually an inherent part of the Arab world. Thus, the assumption was that the Arab world should take care of them. The fact that there was no Palestinian national definition beforehand, strengthened this rationale.

Golan spoke of the Israeli tendency to use rational explanations as a defensive reaction whenever she tries to question the Israeli army’s acts. According to her, whether it is by comparing IDF’s activities to other armies in the world or to other times during history, or by

strengthening Israeli society's need for the army, the IDF is perceived as a holy subject that can't be questioned or criticized. By using these excuses and others, and by denying some facts, tension can be released.

Isolation. The isolation of the context from the emotion allows for the reduction of the intensity of the anxiety and the avoidance of pain, guilt, or other harsh emotions. In this way a thought, act, or memory (the context) filters into consciousness detached from the emotion that usually accompanies it.

Golan describes how frightening the outcomes of this mechanism might be:

One of the first testimonies. . . shocked me: A Palestinian exploded at the blockade and some of the guys took the severed head and put it on a broomstick, and took pictures with it with a cigarette in their hands . . . and put it on their screen savers at home.

Thus, the unawareness of the sensations of affects allow actions that otherwise would never have happened.

Golan also discussed the “apathy tendency” which characterized many veterans. Many of the soldiers who served in the Territories witnessed and participated in military actions which change them immensely. Cases of abuse towards Palestinians, looting, and destruction of property had been part of their daily life. While discharging, these soldiers returning to civilian life discover the gap between the reality they encountered in the Territories, and the silence about this reality at home. In order to become civilians again, soldiers are forced to ignore and what they have seen and done. This process is often created apathy and a general lack of interest and enthusiasm. This Apathy according to Golan is in fact a “volcano of anxiety” without a channel to communicate it.

Mature Defenses

The author is choosing to thematically organize clusters of participants' responses since the participants tended to demonstrate through living and working the possibility of improving the situation.

Levine spoke about the need for Israeli society to adopt higher-level and more complex defense mechanisms:

I think that anyway it's the method to overcome the defensiveness. . . the feeling that we're all right. . . We've all done bad [things] and we're all right too. . . And then there's a chance to overcome the more pathological defense mechanisms.

Adoption of these desirable, higher-level patterns of defense can be found in Golan's personal encounters with many different aspects of inner and outer reality. She discussed her reluctance to cooperate with the common Israeli's lower-level defenses such as active silencing and the inability for self-critique.

When speaking about the people involved in the Jewish-Arab school she headed, Peretz described their ability to use higher defense mechanisms although the hardships and the challenges that are inherited in such a use. She described those with whom she worked as courageous people who are willing to confront the most difficult issues. According to her, seeing things in black and white is indeed much easier. It's much more complex to see the other side's suffering and rights. It's even harder to build something quite different from the status quo, but the daily work of the teachers at this school proves that it is possible.

Participants' Work As Examples Of Mature Defenses. The interviewees' credos and professional work can be viewed as practical examples of the use of mature defense mechanisms. The defenses used by the interviewees in their work are adaptive and positive for the individuals

using them as well as for the larger society, which hopefully will also adopt them. These defense mechanisms are action-oriented and have an integrated nature in which contradictions and contrasts can live together. These mechanisms are characterized by a critical point of view, a high level of awareness, and a high degree of involvement with “the other.” They usually involve positive effects and human values such as love, forgiveness, tolerance, and compassion. Peretz’s school, Golan’s organization, Bar-On’s alternative curriculum, Lachman’s art, Eisikovits’ perception of long term ceasefire, and Levine’s intergroup workshops demonstrate aspects of mature defense mechanisms.

The way Peretz’s school is structured and run demonstrates many features of mature defenses. This school also demonstrates how tolerance and critique views can be translated into structure and actions. The school is based on preserving equality which is apparent, with a Jewish and an Arab principal heading the school and with each class being taught by both Jewish and Arab teachers. Every action in the school is considered in advance. With regards to national or religious holidays, whether Jewish, Moslem or Christian, the same designated area and time are made available for the school celebrations.

Other aspects of mature defenses such as adaptation, positive attitude, and compassion can be found in Bar-On’s, Golan’s and Lachman’s views: Bar On developed an alternative history curriculum which is different from the existing materials by its contents and by its affect. This curriculum is not based on hatred and fear. According to him, involving these emotions within the educational system is not functional to the development of the society, and in fact achieves the opposite goal.

Golan went one step further than Bar-On’s aim to reduce hatred, and mentioned love. According to her, Zionism is first and foremost associated with love. This love refers to the love

of the land and of love of the people. However, Golan's love is not blind and she explained her participation in Shovrim Shtika by her Zionism, which involves asking hard questions and national criticism. Lachman spoke of love in a similar way to Golan, referring to love as a motivational force, in his life in general, and in his artistic life in particular.

Besides the power of love, Golan refers to other positive effects and human values such as forgiveness. According to her, part of the reasons why people testify in Shovrim Shtika is their will to overcome feelings of guilt and regret.

Sublimation. Lachman referred to the inner connections between art and humanism. For him, both as an individual and as an artist, coping involves coming from a human perspective. Art has the ability to go beyond a specific identity or concrete nationality and thus can touch and connect its participants, creators and audiences with themselves and others. One's position as an artist is complex and not necessarily identical with the actual place one resides. Lachman hoped, for example, that people would come to an exhibition in a Palestinian village or city, read his biography on the wall, and feel a certain affinity with his work, whether he was Jewish or Israeli or where he lived.

Anticipation And Suppression. Eisikovits's unique and fresh look on the concept of ceasefire accurately illustrates the healing potential that lies within the use of the mature mechanisms of anticipation and suppression. According to him, lowering specific expectations for long-term peace and maintaining a nonviolent status quo can help create a new mode of interaction between Israelis and Palestinians. According to him, Israeli society tends to perceive ceasefires as a failure of policymaking if they do not last for more than a short time. However, Eisikovits thinks that interlude and respite should be conceived differently, similarly to the way it is perceived in Islamic thinking (in Arabic, *tahadiya* meaning a temporary "truce" or

“armistice”). He believes that instead of talking about justice, peace or the symbolic right of return of Palestinian refugees, the discourse should be focused on preventing death and injuries in both sides. His idea is that a conscious decision not to deal with past anger and unfinished claims should be made, without denying their existence. Changing the dynamic of physical life may change the dynamic of mental life, hopefully leading to a positive snow ball effect.

According to Eisikovits, most people are not at ease with themselves the vast majority of the time, nor are they dealing with internal conflict. They give themselves “a timeout” and live life. He thinks that the common psychological state of an individual is not “being at peace with yourself” but is in fact “being at ceasefire with yourself.” He added, “if it makes sense at the psychological level, why can’t it be a coherent possibility at the political level?”

Altruism. The work of Peretz and Levine often involves satisfying the needs of others. For example, during the Second Lebanon War, the sixth grader at Peretz’s school collected contributions for the children of Gaza and for the children in the shelters in Sderot (an Israeli city near Gaza). Shipments of equipment were sent and these actions helped the students cope with the events, to see it from all sides, and to come up with a new, different kind of statement.

Effectiveness of Israeli Society’s Defense Mechanisms

“It’s a lower defense mechanism that either serves you or harms you. I think that in the long term, it mainly harms you” (Eisikovits).

According to the interviewees, the use of defense mechanisms by Israeli society protects it from anxiety and preserves its self-esteem. The defenses moderate the society’s response to emotional conflicts and internal and external pressures. However, less mature manifestations of the defenses and intense and rigid uses of them can lead to severe negative results. This section discusses the positive and negative effects of Israeli society’s usage of defense mechanisms.

Positive Consequences: Homeostasis And Anxiety Reduction. Participants mentioned that the use of defense mechanisms keep Israeli society from being immobilized by anxiety and depression. Levine described the normalization of life in Israel and the many achievements of its residents despite living on “a volcano.” He interpreted the blooming of the residents as evidence for the effectiveness of the defenses.

Common Ground. Bar-On and Lachman referred to the common ground that is created by the defenses and to the fact that they unite the people who use them. Thus for instance “the other” is a demon that needs to be destroyed by “us.”

From their viewpoint, there is a noticeable part of the defense use which is healthy, comforting and assist coping. Using defense mechanisms serves adaptation by providing filters for pain, anger and fears and creatively rearrange the sources of the conflict so that they become manageable.

Negative Consequences. However, all the participants observed that at the same time the use of many of the defenses has both short-term and long-term unfavorable psychological consequences

Suffering. Levine and Golan talked about the suffering among different sections of Israeli society without channels for processing this pain. Levine said, “They have nightmares and they worry, but they don’t talk about it.” According to Golan, it’s not a coincidence that in the current generation there are so many “druggies”, who take “trips” in India after their military service. They need to escape horrible memories, sights and thoughts.

Distorted perception of reality. Golan gave an example of a soldier who behaved inappropriately due to a misperception of the difference between appropriate conduct in the army and in civilian life:

One of the soldiers said, when they asked him how it influenced him, “I drive through Kalkilya in a military vehicle and I drive over cars, and I do it like it’s the only natural path to take, and then I come home for the weekend- do] you think a red light stops me?”

Cultural effects. Lachman pointed out that previous generations’ devaluation of the Diaspora, manifestations of the defense mechanisms denial and split, have had long-lasting consequences on Israeli society. The price for the use of these defenses has been demonstrated in “cultural narrowing” and dismissing tradition. the use of less mature defenses prevent growth and development while maintaining a restricted status quo.

Changes in Defense Styles over Time

Over the course of its 64 years of existence, Israeli society has both advanced and regressed in its use of defense mechanisms. In this section the author presents the positive and negative changes that were brought up by the interviewees.

Positive Changes: Advancing to Higher-Level Defense Mechanisms. I think that what was true in the ‘60s [in the opinion] of less than one percent of the Israeli population, which it’s possible to have two nations living side by side. I think that nowadays . . . though I haven’t checked it statistically . . . most Israelis now accept this position (Lachman).

In general, the interviewees agreed that there has been a noticeable positive trend in relation to the use of higher-level defenses, expressed as a transition from the use of mainly psychotic and early forms of immature defense mechanisms, such as denial, distortion, and

splitting to the use of higher-level defense mechanisms, such as projection, repression, rationalization, and isolation. However, although different in appearance and degree, it should be noted that lower manifestations of the lower defenses are still present. The interviewees also agreed that this change was occurring at a very slow pace, and that it was unstable and uncertain in nature.

Bar-On spoke of a decrease in the use of lower-level defenses that characterized the monolithic phase, such as splitting and projection. According to him, more sectors within the Israeli population today are ready to face “the other” in a more positive light. The decrease in the use of projection may lead to the beginning of a dialogue. At the same time, Bar-On believes that the forces that might retard this process are still well-rooted and powerful. The pace of advancing on the developmental scale is not linear and can be very slow. He concluded:

Let’s say that on a scale of 1 to 10, we’re now somewhere between 1 and 2 . . . and I think it’s better than 0. . . . We were at minus 2. . . . So now, we’re somewhere between 1 and 2. But the chance that we’ll proceed to reach 6, 7, 8, 9 . . . well, there are many, many tests in the process. . . .

Regarding the positive changes that have occurred over the years, Eisikovits pointed out several of the many organizations that have been established during this time in order to promote peaceful coexistence, such as *Grassroots* and *Machsom Watch*.

Negative Changes: From Being A Victim To Victimizing Others. “I thought, how can it be that we were victims, and we should understand, so how can it be that we allow such behavior, without actually doing anything about it?” (Golan)

The interviewees discussed the perception of the “eternal victim” among the Jews and the mental and cognitive consequences of this perception on Israeli society. As mentioned in the

discussion of why Israeli society needs defense mechanisms, the concrete dimension of this perception is rooted in generations of persecutions and pogroms, the Holocaust, and Israel's wars. The perception of being an eternal victim, which is considered a foundation of Israeli society, has had a tremendous influence on the shift that has occurred over the years in which Israel has come to be a force that victimizes others.

Bar-On and Lachman referred to the process in which Jewish victim internalized the victimizer role in the early days of Israeli society. Bar-On talked about the internalization of anti-Semitic stereotypes in order to build a "new Jew." In similar words, Lachman described the process in which the need to be strong and responsible for oneself after the overwhelming injury has grown into a blind, power-hungry place.

Golan demonstrated how the phenomenon of Israeli society considering itself a victim continues in the present although the conditions have radically changed. According to her, victimhood is taught in the Israeli society by social agents such as the media and the education system.

Lachman and Golan refer to the issue of Israeli acts that victimize the Palestinians. Lachman said:

There's no doubt that the injustice of their situation in the refugee camps is terrible. And it's actually happening in light of all that we've suffered, and it's terrible that we can be responsible for such a thing; it's very hard to accept such things.

Israeli society's continuous perception of itself as a victim and the internalization of past "victimizer role" have obscured its vision regarding its own victimizing acts. In the transition from victim to victimizer, the main defense mechanisms used have been denial, distortion, repression, isolation, and rationalization.

Israeli Society Is Exhausted From Its Existing Defensive Styles

“How exhausted do you think we are now?” (Shechter) “Quite exhausted” (Bar-On).

The subject of exhaustion resulting from the existing defense styles and the amount of physical and psychic energy they have been consuming is a significant finding which came up in the course of the interviews. According to the interviewees, both the positive and negative changes in Israeli society’s defense styles in relation to the Palestinians have occurred largely due to a long and painful process of exhaustion. However, the interviewees also agreed that Israeli society is probably not exhausted enough to consciously and intensively push toward additional desirable change.

Levine and Bar-On point toward people’s becoming exhausted as an unfortunate but typical way for them to learn and to grow. Bar On talked about “slow learners” and “fast learners.” According to him, most people are slow learners and tend to learn much more through exhaustion than through any attempt at preemptive thinking, particularly when they have an enormous emotional investment in a subject. Regarding the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, Bar On claimed that it is a question of the price that both sides will be willing to pay before peace happens. With thousands dead, even the extreme right will be exhausted enough from the idea of war, he concluded.

Lachman connected Israeli exhaustion with the use of past collective defenses to rise of individualism and its influence on Israeli society. According to him, the statement of Trumpeldor (a Zionist national hero who died defending the settlement of Tel Hai) that “it’s good to die for your country” is not valid anymore. The strong feeling of belonging to the group, which was enormously powerful at the beginning of the twentieth century and at the time of the establishment of the State of Israel, has been dramatically weakened. “Holy themes” which were

very clear and definite in the past, like the cohesiveness of the Israeli group and worship of the army, have begun to crack and are not so obvious anymore.

Eisikovits talks about exhaustion as a necessary but not sufficient condition for change. According to him, while examining other national conflicts that moved toward peace, there was almost always a combination of tiredness of sides, courageous leaders and sufficient external pressure. Eisikovits thought that Israeli society is close to achieving the first element; there is quite a bit of tiredness. However, it is far from achieving the second element, because it is quite a rare occurrence historically that there are leaders with courage on both sides simultaneously. In his opinion, the Israeli society is even further away from achieving the third element, since the United States will never put sufficient pressure on Israel to make peace.

Possible Transitions From the Use of Lower-Level Defenses to Higher-Level, More Adaptive Ones as this Phenomenon Emerged from the Data Collected

We have this shared perception that objects to violence as the solution to conflicts. And this is something that we all share, so you won't find us happy about, let's say, a bombing in Gaza or about a terrorist attack . . . We feel quite together in this, the children, the staff, all of us . . . (Peretz).

The interviewees' work can be viewed as steps that are helping individuals and groups in Israeli society in the transition toward the use of higher-level defense mechanisms. This section presents the work and thoughts of each of the interviewees relevant to this theme: Bar-On's concept of basic mental change and alternative curriculum for studying the history of the region, Eisikovits's idea regarding long-term ceasefire, Peretz's Jewish-Arab school, Levine's binational groups, Golan's soldiers' testimonies and her fight for a more objective media, and Lachman's

art and humanism perspective. All of these can be thought of as possible approaches for a better future.

Conceptual Change. Both Bar-On and Lachman described defenses and beliefs that might have served Israeli society in the past but which no longer function in a desirable manner, such as denial, distortion, splitting, projection, and repression. They agree that there is a basic need for conceptual change within Israeli society regarding its perception of itself, the region, and the Palestinians.

Lachman talked about the existential urge to develop an understanding regarding the mutual future of Israeli and Palestinians:

That is one thing that must be understood: that we're in the same boat, and if anyone falls, then so will the other. It's not a matter of us or them, as some people think. It doesn't work that way.

Bar On talked about the existing “mental distance” in time and space between the two nations. Most of the Israelis see themselves closer to people from Europe or the States and not to people who are practically their neighbors. According to him, in order to achieve change, this perceived distance needs to be shortened. In addition the whole attitude about living in the Middle East must change and be considered something positive and desirable.

Operational Change. The interviewees' work can be viewed as practical instantiations of these theoretical ideas. This section presents their suggestions for using operational action to achieve the deep changes mentioned in the “conceptual changes” section:

Long-Term Ceasefire. Eisikovits's idea regarding long-term ceasefire is very relevant here. According to him, it is impossible to make such essential changes in time of war. The process of positive development could happen on its own, if there were several years of political

quiet and concrete improvements with regards to the quality of life for both sides. He thinks that “quiet makes people quiet” and mentioning Maslow’s pyramid of needs, in which when the basic needs are satisfied it is possible to pay attention to higher needs like morality and lack of prejudice.

Personal Contact Between Israelis And Palestinians. By gaining more quiet time, various new meeting points between Israelis and Palestinians can be arranged, which can create more symmetrical encounters between the two nations. Bar-On talked about how crucial this factor is in moving forward with the process of change. He believed that if every Israeli family would get acquainted with a Palestinian family and vice versa, the conflict would have to be resolved. By adding personal acquaintance and personal caring into the picture, the conflict would not continue.

Levine facilitates and supervises Israeli-Palestinian groups. The dialogue in these groups is facilitated using role-playing and active listening techniques, and is aimed at encouraging each side to identify with the other. The dialogue is based on respect and recognition with the starting point being the acknowledgment of each participant personal narrative.

Education. Two educational initiatives proposed by the participants are Bar-On’s alternative curriculum and Peretz’s school, where Jewish and Arab children sit together to study both languages and cultures. Bar-On worked on developing an alternative curriculum that is based on the reconstruction of the historical narratives during the transition from violent conflict to peace building. Peretz’s school, Hand in Hand, has already proven itself as a living, successful example of change in the mainstream education system. The creation of another reality is based on equality between Jews and Arabs that enables close social connections to form between them. According to Peretz, the most important lesson the students in the school learn is empathy for

one another. In addition, the school is highly focused on teaching the students to develop a critical perspective on reality. An optimistic belief that graduates will attain positions of leadership and social change motivates all aspects of the education imparted in the school.

Arabic Language. Bar-On and Peretz refer to the importance within Israeli society of learning the Arabic language in order to understand “the other” and to increase the ability to communicate and to build relationships. Bar-On explained:

The moment we understand their language, we will be less anxious, because we’ll understand what they’re saying and that not everything they’re saying is that they want to slaughter us or *allahu akbar* [God is the greatest].

As mentioned, at Peretz’s school, lessons are conducted in both Hebrew and Arabic.

Creating a More Objective Media. Eisikovits and Golan both said they believed that it is the media’s duty to bring relevant materials into society’s consciousness in order to achieve change. They stress the need for a more objective media that gives context to the information it communicates. According to Eisikovits, it is the media’s duty to expose and to bring different content to the “central stage” of society, such as the daily life of the Palestinians. He believes that there are types of behaviors that depend on the ability to “not see” and are impossible without moral blindness. When the Israeli society will pay attention to this content and behavior, it will be much more difficult for it to carry on certain behaviors.

Golan stressed the importance of critical consumption of the media. She called for an increase in public awareness to what and how things are published and to what things are and are not published. In fact, the constitution of Shovrim Shtikah, the organization of which Golan is the executive director, literally emerged from the need to expose the Israeli public to the routine situations of everyday life in the occupied territories. The organization perceives itself as a form

of journalism which would have existed if there was an independent, investigative media in Israel. Since this is not the case, the organization is trying to be an information pipeline, in order to trigger public discourse.

Role of the Arts. Artist and theorist, Lachman, finds his identity and citizenship in his reconstruction of traditional forms and subjects within eclectic, multicultural art. He explains how art can bypass nationalism and activate humanism, both for the creator and for the observer. For him, art penetrates and touches the observer the most when it exposes something about the creator's human condition. This exposure is deeper than a certain definite national status and has the potential to connect its audience with their own deeper idiosyncratic humanity. The power of love is what stands behind both art's creation and human coping. Lachman believes that art has the ability to be a humanistic motivational force:

Let us say that ideologically, in the sense of wishful thinking, I would like my work to contribute to there not being another terrorist attack. We know that this is not the case, but on the inside—yes. So, if it does have an influence, well, it influences me by making me demand even more from myself.

Pace of Transitioning to Higher-Level Defense Mechanisms

“These things don't develop in linear fashion” (Bar-On).

According to Bar-On, the complex task of moving up on the developmental scale of the defenses is a very slow and deep process with many challenges. This process doesn't happen in a linear fashion and it does not happen fast. However, after being in a certain stage for long time, when a possibility develops, there might suddenly be a huge leap forward for lots of people. In order for that to happen, there is a need to create a framework that gives a sense of ease and

security so a readiness to even touch upon such deep things (of fears, pain and anger and the automatic coping ways of dealing with them) will be developed.

According to Eisikovits it is very hard in Israel to create such conditions, because they are always things happening that seem to verify the opposite forces. Maybe this explains the long use of the lower defenses, despite their negative and destructive consequences.

Optimism – Pessimism Axis. “I’m pessimistic, in the sense that at the moment, I can’t see how we get out of this situation. I’m optimistic in the sense that I believe that ultimately, our existence here is the right thing... it will ultimately find a way to exist” (Lachman).

This theme addresses the level of optimism among the participants regarding potential advancement within Israeli society on the spectrum of defenses. Between the more defined pessimism of Eisikovits and the determined optimism of Peretz, the other interviewees express a very cautious belief in a brighter future. The interviewees presented a sober view of reality, which acknowledges the physical and mental hardships that still must be processed and overcome before Israeli society acquires the use of higher defense mechanisms.

Summary

This research showed many similarities among the interviewees regarding their understanding of the use of defense mechanisms in Israeli society in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The interviewees agreed on society’s physical and mental needs for the defenses, the manifestations and nature of the defenses, their positive and negative outcomes, the changes in their use over the years, and the possible reasons for these changes. There was also agreement among the interviewees regarding the need for changes in the society’s current defense style. The participants suggested possible routes for achieving this transition. The

different types of work in which the interviewees are involved can be viewed as adaptive and desirable defenses.

The next chapter discusses these results in light of the literature on the concept of defense mechanisms in general and on Israeli society's defenses in particular. The author notes some patterns and general trends that emerge when the results of this study are placed in the broader context of research on defense mechanisms.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to explain how an understanding of individuals and groups in Israeli society, through hypothesizing their use of defense mechanisms in relation to the conflict with the Palestinians, could hopefully lead to a better and more peaceful future relationship. The study examines how individuals and groups in Israeli society could progress along the “developmental scale” of defense mechanisms in relation to the conflict.

Defense mechanisms of individuals have been the subject of many research studies (Cramer, 2008; Freud, 1966; Kwon, 2002; Vaillant, 1993) and while there have been numerous studies of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict (Beinin & Stein, 2006; Canetti-Nisim, Halperin, Sharvit & Hobfoll, 2009; Salzman, 2008) there has been little consideration of psychological defense mechanisms in the context of this conflict. It is the author’s view that exploring Israeli society through a concept that was originally formulated in relation to the single individual, as if the society itself has been using defense mechanisms in order to reduce its anxiety, may shed new light on Israeli society and on its turbulent relationship with the Palestinians. It is hoped that this research will extend the concept of defense mechanisms, and demonstrate how it can be applied to larger groups of people.

The section that follows presents the results of this research light of the literature on the concept of defense mechanisms in general and on Israeli society’s defenses in particular. The second section notes limitations of the present study. The last section suggests further avenues for future research on the topic.

Israeli Society's use of Defense Mechanisms within the Context of 64 Years of Israeli– Palestinian Conflict

The interviewees referred to 12 different types of defenses that Israeli society uses, or has used, to cope with the anxiety and uncertainty caused by the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. These defenses range from psychotic to mature and differ with respect to many variables, such as the degree to which they distort reality, their short-term and long-term advantages and disadvantages, and the amount of psychic energy they require.

Over the course of its 64 years of existence, Israeli society has both advanced and regressed in its use of defense mechanisms. In general the interviewees agree that there has been a noticeable positive trend in relation to the use of these defenses. They claim there has been a transition from the frequent use of psychotic and early forms of immature defense mechanisms (such as denial, distortion, and splitting) to the use of higher-level defense mechanisms (such as projection, repression, rationalization, and isolation). Although different in appearance and degree, it should be noted that lower manifestations of the lower defenses are still present even when higher-level defenses are employed. These findings correlate with the findings of others (Bar tal, 2007; Grosbard, 2003; Halperin, 2007).

Bar-On and Lachman both spoke of a massive process of denial that characterized the early phases of the development of Israeli society's identity. This denial was expressed by dismissing feelings of anxiety and any other voices that did not match the emerging definition of "the Israeli". Distortion of reality was very common (Grosbard, 2003). The self-definition of the developing Israeli society was done by a clear-cut split, an uncompromising division between itself, the chosen people returning to their ancestral homeland, and "the other." The Palestinians were of course, part of the other. At its early stages, the emotional state of Israeli society

resembled that of a very small child who intensively uses premature defense mechanisms, such as omnipotence, distortion, and denial in order to grow up. This finding correlates with the finding of Grosbard (2003).

In 1967, nineteen years after the establishment of the State, the Six Day War broke out. During this war, Israel gained control over various territories and thus became the formal occupier of the Palestinian people. According to Golan, Lachman, and Bar-On, the transition from being the eternal Jewish victim, which is a notion at the foundations of Israeli society, to becoming a force that occupies others has obscured the society's perceptions regarding its own victimizing acts. In the transition from victim to victimizer, defense mechanisms have been used, including: denial, distortion, repression, isolation, and rationalization. It should be noted that the use of these mechanisms helped to a great extent in the creation of the modern State of Israel and its numerous successes in so many areas. At the same time, however, the use of these mechanisms has had a negative effect on the society's relationships with Palestinian society.

The findings suggest that, with strong support from the media and the educational system, the strong negative feelings that the young Israeli nation harbored towards the Palestinians has been transformed into simply not seeing them. Eisikovits and Golan described how this repression or active silencing operates within different sectors of the Israeli population: citizens and soldiers, liberals and conservatives. Boymfeld defined the occupied territories as a "twilight zone" in which reality, logic, and common sense have no validation. (Boymfeld, 2006, 19).

Both the findings and the literature (Bar Tal, 2007; Halperin, 2007) have noted that among individuals and groups in Israeli society, the mechanism of projection is very much in use when it comes to Israeli perceptions of Palestinians. Israelis automatically transfer ideas or

feelings considered inappropriate onto the Palestinians. This process is usually accompanied by denial of the existence of these ideas or feelings within Israeli society itself. Thus, slogans such as “the Palestinians understand only force” and the use of negative images and metaphors, such as describing the Palestinians as a primitive, threatening entity, have been very common (Bar Tal, 2007). Lachman, Levine, Golan, and Peretz all mentioned the phenomenon of Israelis dehumanizing Palestinians and attributing negative traits to them.

Israeli society uses logical explanations that are remote from emotions to justify discrimination, exploitation, collective punishment, transfer, and killings of Palestinians. Without the defense that these rationalizations and isolation supply, many Israelis would probably find it very difficult to act in these ways. (Bar Tal & Teichman, 2005).

According to Grosbard (2003), indications of the use of the highest and most adaptive defenses have also appeared. National defenses such as anticipation, altruism, and sublimation are slowly replacing those used in the past. The ability to delay retaliation after terrorist acts, for instance, is an important developmental achievement. It shows an ability to contain feelings rather than being forced by them to act. This ability of Israeli society to restrain itself has become more and more apparent, and politicians are no longer afraid to say that only a peace agreement will solve the problem (an opinion that was not popular in the past). During the last few decades, politically speaking, both the right and the left have moved to the left. Public figures from both the sides have not been afraid to restrain themselves and to admit that there is no appropriate reaction except dialogue. This was the case in the Gulf War, for example, when Israel’s restraint helped to prevent an escalation. (Boymfeld, 2006, p. 191). There are other notable changes in Israeli thinking and actions, for example: withdrawal from the Sinai, Lebanon, Gaza, and parts of the Golan Heights.

Currently there are more than one hundred peace groups and many other forums for dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians. In addition, both the findings and the literature have noted that a Palestinian State is viewed as a necessity within the scope of the Israeli consensus. (Grosbard, 2003). This is indeed a remarkable progression from Golda Meir's public statement that "there is no such thing as a Palestinian people."

However, despite this positive trend toward the use of more mature and adaptive defenses, all of the interviewees were in agreement concerning the very slow pace of this change and its unstable and uncertain nature.

The findings and the literature (Grosbard, 2003; Vaillant, 1994) note that in reality, change is not occurring in such a linear manner. The use of higher and mature defenses could also be found, to a certain degree, in the early stages of the development of Israeli society and today there are still expressions of very low-level defenses. As developmental theories have shown, each mechanism coexists with all of the others. However, certain mechanisms are of greater importance during certain developmental periods, in conjunction with the development of the society's ego and environmental events. It can be concluded, however, that there has been a considerable general progression of Israeli society along the developmental axis of the defenses in relation to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

Reasons for and Consequences of the Use of Defenses

According to the interviewees, there are several reasons Israeli society uses specific defense mechanisms in reaction to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. All of the interviewees are in agreement that there is a realistic and concrete physical threat deriving from the conflict, and that this threat requires the society to use defenses to reduce anxiety and maintain a normal life. The use of these defenses protects the society from an awareness of this external pressure and

preserves its self-esteem. This finding is supported by the work of Breznitz (1983), and Somer & Bleich (2005), which describe the State of Israel as an “inquiry lab for psychological stress”.

In contrast to the external threats identified by Breznitz, Somer & Bleich, the threats Bar-On and Golan refer to stem from more internal places, and are not necessarily in synchrony with objective reality. The use of defenses in such cases protects persons from internal pressure and maintains psychological equilibrium. Bar-On finds the existence of such internal threats to be one of the most surprising findings of his work as a researcher. Golan hypothesizes that since Jews have been a persecuted race, they have created a barrier which is almost unsurpassable. In her work, she encounters unrealistic thoughts and concerns, such as the fear that there could be another holocaust tomorrow and that all the Israelis could be destroyed. This finding is supported by the work of Grosbard. (2003).

Lachman mentioned historical reasons for the use of the defenses. He referred to the Palestinians’ long-standing refusal to accept Israel’s existence: “They [the Palestinians] only spoke in terms of throwing us into the sea, and it wasn't just slogans.” According to Bar-On, there is another historical aspect effecting Israeli society’s insecurity: the lack of a history as a collective existence. Israel as a modern community has only existed for a short time. The fact that there was once a kingdom of Israel or a kingdom of Judea 2000 years ago, is of no practical guidance to solve the problems of collective existence today. The Jewish people’s attempt to establish the State of Israel on this basis, after so many years of the living in the Diaspora, actually creates insecurity, particularly as there are many signs indicating that this insecurity is justified.

Other reasons underlying the use of defense mechanisms have to do with feelings of hopelessness about the future. Israeli society finds it difficult to believe that it is possible to live a

normal life within (roughly) the 1967 borders. The duration of the Israeli–Arab conflict testifies to the fact that all attempts to end it have failed and it is seen as a problem that cannot be solved. (Bar Tal, 2007).

Thus, a continual violent conflict, a background of a cruel history, and a pessimistic view regarding the future, have created an extreme living situation for the members of Israeli society, physically, emotionally, externally, and internally. In order to cope with the ongoing threat and uncertainty, individuals and groups in the society engage their systems of defense mechanisms broadly, in vigorous, deep, and forceful ways.

Vaillant (1993) referred to the homeostasis that is achieved through the use of defense mechanisms. According to him, defenses can keep a society that is confronted with conflict from becoming immobilized by depression and anxiety. This phenomenon was supported by the findings of Levine: “We can live on this volcano and nevertheless achieve a stage of amazing normalcy.” The use of defense mechanisms protects individuals and groups in Israeli society from anxiety and preserves their self-esteem. These defenses moderate the responses to the emotional aspect of the conflict and to the internal and external pressures.

Furthermore, defense mechanisms create a common ground that unites the people who use them. According to Bar-On, Lachman and the literature, (Grosbard, 2003) due to the violent conflict with the Arabs, Israeli society does not have to see itself as the conflicted society that it is. Individuals and groups in the society are united by a common external enemy.

However, the use of lower-level defenses (and less mature manifestations of higher-level defenses) can lead to severe negative outcomes for individuals and groups in Israeli society in both the short and long term. According to Grosbard (2003), Israeli society’s unconscious is filled with anxiety and desires which manifest themselves in different ways. The subconscious

forces society to satisfy its desires and to pacify its anxiety, obscuring its self-awareness and integrity, as well as its potential for emotional development.

In sum, the findings indicate that the denial of fears, the distortion of reality, and the projection of aggression onto the Palestinians causes suffering, despair, worry, and restlessness:

“They have nightmares and they worry, but they don't talk about it,” said Levine. Golan mentioned, in relation to this, that it is not a coincidence that in this generation there are so many young Israelis who travel to India and take drugs after their military service.

The use of defense mechanisms such as splitting and omnipotence makes it hard for individuals and groups in Israeli society to move towards peace because these mechanisms come from a position of perceived superiority. According to Grosbard (2003), Israeli society represses its anxiety so well, both from itself and from the rest of the world, that it is hard to understand what it actually fears so much.

The long-term intense use of these defenses by individuals and groups in Israeli society has led to painful physical and psychological exhaustion. As mentioned above, both individuals and societies have limited amounts of physical and psychic energy. Investing an enormous portion of its energy in these defenses leaves a society with very little energy for other areas. Tiredness, attrition, and weakening were words that came up repeatedly during the interviews. At the same time, the interviewees agreed that Israeli society probably still has enough energy to push consciously and intensively towards purposeful change.

Transitions to Higher-Level Defense Mechanisms

As described above, theories, observations, and research provide justification for the claim that there is an appropriate age for the appearance and utilization of different defense mechanisms (Cramer, 1997b; Cramer & Gaul, 1998; Porcerelli et al., 1998). It is possible to

stipulate a suitable age for the appearance of particular defense mechanism, meaning that a certain defense is part of normal development. On the other hand, pathological indications will be expressed through the use of defense mechanisms that are not age-appropriate. In other words, it has been observed that patients with a variety of disorders rely on defenses that are chronologically inappropriate; defenses that belong to an earlier or later stage of development. Progress in treatment reflects gradual shifts from the use of defenses that are not age-appropriate to the use of those that are. The literature cited in this regard refers to the defense patterns of the individual. The findings demonstrate that similar things can be applied to a society.

This phenomenon, that there is also an appropriate age for the appearance and utilization of defenses in the development of a society, is reflected in the data. As mentioned above, individuals and groups generally unite more easily around less mature defenses, such as distortion, denial, and projection onto an enemy, than around more mature defenses such as anticipation, sublimation, and altruism toward yesterday's enemy. It is hard to make an accurate comparison between the chronological development of the single individual and that of a society. However, according to the data, it is logical to presume that relying on pre-mature defenses that are characteristic of primary phases of development is not age-appropriate behavior for a 64-year-old society. This is particularly true when the consequences of this behavior are often pathological, involve significant distortion of reality, cause suffering, and soak up much of the psychic energy of the society's members.

Thus, a recommendation that emerges from the data is that a transition of individuals and groups in Israeli society from the use of defense mechanisms that are not age appropriate to those that are, could be a desirable path towards a peaceful and better future. As described in detail, the

interviewees' work can be viewed as steps that could help groups and individuals in Israeli society in this transition towards the use of higher-level defense mechanisms.

The theoretical assumption is that the use of a particular defense mechanism will be effective as long as it is not understood. When individuals become aware of the mechanism that they have been using, its function, the "costume," is revealed. Then the attempt to abstain from certain thoughts and feelings will be understood and the mechanism will no longer be effective. In such a case, a new, more complex and mature defense mechanism that is not yet consciously understood, will be drafted to prevent anxiety and preserve self-esteem. In other words, the use of a defense mechanism precedes its understanding (Cramer, 1983, 1991a; Cramer & Brilliant, 2001; Elkind, 1976).

According to this theory which is supported by empirical findings, the treatment of defense mechanisms is based on bringing them to awareness. In a suitable therapeutic framework, with a therapeutic alliance that has been cemented, the therapist can investigate defensive behavior with the client by way of pointed questions, mirrored reflections, and interpretations. As previously described, the realm of expressive therapies has additional ways and tools to process the defenses.

According to Grosbard's comparison of the peace process to the therapeutic process (Grosbard, 2003), proper development requires individuals and groups in Israeli society to go through a process of exploring the use of immature defenses and to subsequently discover the reasons for and results of their use. Dealing with long-term repression and correcting deeply rooted thought distortions means going through a difficult process of bringing anxiety-evoking, hidden materials from the unconscious into consciousness. In this case, unconscious materials made conscious include (1) recognition of the limits of Israeli force, (2) acknowledgement of

weaknesses, aggression, and guilt, and (3) recognition of the Palestinians as a nation. Part of the development process, it is suggested, is a public discussion of the notion that Jewish settlement in the land of Israel resulted in Palestinians having lost their homes. Israeli society has to recognize the ongoing suffering that it has caused the Palestinians. Discovering the defense mechanisms used to effect “the repression of 1948” (Levi, 2006), that is, those mechanisms used to avoid confronting Israeli society’s own aggression and anxiety is a part of this challenging but necessary process. Feeling the anxiety, dealing with it, and gradually letting it dissipate is probably the only way to work through this process and achieve long-term growth.

The following section describes how a climate for this process could be developed through establishing beliefs, attitudes, motives, goals, emotions, and behaviors. According to Eisikovits, the first change that needs to be made is the common Israeli conception that a long-term ceasefire is impossible. Lowering fantasy-like and unrealistic expectations for an immediate long-term peace and maintaining a nonviolent status quo can help prepare the ground for the establishment of a more relaxed atmosphere in which the social development process can take place. Eisikovits’ words demonstrate the effectiveness of the use of mature defense mechanisms such as suppression and anticipation instead of the lower-level defense, splitting:

You don't agree about our right to be here, you don't even agree to the terminology of ‘rights’ . . . Let's agree not to agree about 90% of the things, but let's just agree that people won't die in the next few months. And if people don't die for two years, in which we manage to keep to a certain level [of peace], then little by little, maybe we'll start to develop other things.

This physical quiet may be analogous to the therapeutic alliance that is necessary for therapeutic work. Without a sense of security that reduces existential anxiety, there will be no progress in therapy. Physical quiet, then may have similar effect on Israeli society as a whole, which individuals attest to when they get a chance to separate from the land and events occurring

therein; that is, it may enable a new exposure to, and new observation and processing of, old and new types of information. This point was raised by all of the interviewees. In a more relaxed environment, new steps could be explored and tried.

Thus, the data suggested that creating physical quiet may enable the construction of the groundwork necessary for conceptual change among members of the society. The hypothesis generated in this thinking is that once the general anxiety has been pacified and a greater amount of psychic energy is available, individuals and groups in Israeli society may be more able to start exploring misconceptions concerning the differences between the current circumstances and those of the past. Bar-On and Lachman talked about defenses and beliefs that may have served members of Israeli society in the past, but which no longer function in a desirable manner. These defense mechanisms include denial, distortion, splitting, projection, and repression. They acknowledge the need to question and interpret the overt and hidden expressions of these defenses and their negative consequences, in order to replace them. They agreed that there is a basic need to change the conventional consciousness of Israelis regarding their perception of themselves, the region, and the Palestinians. The existing mental distance in time and space between the Israelis and the Palestinians for example and the Israeli fantasy of feeling closer to faraway nations need to be altered.

In parallel, an understanding of the mutually connected futures of the two nations must be inculcated. According to the data and the literature, (Grosbard, 2003) it is time for members of Israeli society to face the defense that blurs its vision regarding the fact that what is good for the Palestinians is good for the Israelis, and that a happy and prosperous Palestine next to Israel is probably the only guarantee of peace. Lachman stressed the urgency of understanding the consequences of self-distraction, of the long-lasting split used by so many Israelis to divide

themselves from the Palestinians. In the global picture, and in the constant changing reality of the world, if one side falls, then so will the other.

Becoming aware of the functions of those separation fantasies and bringing them into the center of the public discourse might facilitate the process by which members of the society will understand their fantasies as defense mechanisms and subsequently develop past them. Hopefully, a process of development will generate a more realistic perception of reality and these developmentally incorrect defenses will be replaced by more complex, mature defenses.

The data and literature indicate that a transition from the use of age-inappropriate defenses and their associated collective misconceptions, can be effected by several different ways. Creating a more objective media, developing changes within the educational system, and generating more symmetric encounters and personal contact between Israelis and Palestinians, have been promising methods for effecting the desired transition.

A More Objective Media

Eisikovits, Bar-On, and Golan all referred to the media's duty to expose the society to material useful to the development of mature defenses. Towards this goal, the media must provide the relevant context to the information it communicates. These researches all think that exposing Israeli society to the Palestinians' way of living and Palestinian narratives is an important responsibility of a democratic investigative media.

According to Eisikovits, there are types of behaviors that are impossible to engage in without moral blindness that depend on the ability to just not see people. The moment that one begins to see people, it becomes impossible to continue behaving in these ways. According to him, mere exposure to an information will determine how one will act towards that information. The determinative variable is exposure or non-exposure, more than a question of principles. He

mentions the fact that in Israel there are only two journalists who regularly and precisely report on Palestinian living conditions and both of them are not working in the main-stream media.

Similar to the media's duty to expose Israeli society to the Palestinian way of life, it also has a responsibility to reveal IDF activities. Shovrim Shtikah, an organization of which Golan is the executive director, emerged from the need to expose the Israeli public to routine situations of everyday life in the occupied territories and from the lack of enough investigative media in Israel dedicated to exposing the public to the realities of life in the territories. The organization is trying to be an information pipeline, in order to trigger public discourse.

Golan stressed the importance of critical consumption of media reports and the need to educate the members of society to view media reports critically and not only emotionally. For example, Eisikovits referred to the way the story about Hani Gerditi, a Palestinian woman who blew up in an Israeli Restaurant, was dealt in the Israeli media. "Ha'aretz" newspaper published a profile on her, which gave part of her historical background. The facts that her fiancée and her cousin were killed by Israelis were mentioned in this article. This article was so exceptional in the Israeli media's landscape that the Israeli public was not prepared to digest it and as a result, many readers cancelled their newspaper subscriptions. Even the fact that there was no justification whatsoever to Gerditi's act in the article, the mere fact of putting her story in a context caused an extreme reaction in the Israeli public.

Changes within the Educational System

Eisikovits, Lachman, and Bar-On each stressed the importance of change within the educational system. Two relevant contemporary educational initiatives include Bar-On's alternative curriculum and Peretz's school, in which Jewish and Arab children study together in both languages and learn respect for their different cultures.

Bar-On developed an alternative curriculum that is based on the reconstruction of historical narratives during the transition from violent conflict to peace building. During the interview he acknowledged the need to move toward positive emotions as the basis for education and the need to teach Israeli children not to hate Arabs.

Peretz's school, Hand in Hand, has already proven itself a successful example of change within the mainstream education system. According to Peretz, the most important lesson that the students in this school learn is empathy for one another. In addition, the school is highly focused on teaching students to develop a critical perspective of reality. An optimistic belief that graduates will attain positions of leadership and social change motivates all aspects of the education provided by the school. The school is based on equality; it has Israeli and Arab principals and there are Israeli and Arab teachers in each class. The messages that are conveyed are balanced in design, appearance, and content. The underlying rationale is that structure makes an impact. The structure is connected to the division of power in the school and influences what happens at the school and what kind of message the school conveys. The school credo is that the children's experience be egalitarian. These students are in a place of social change that not only teaches differently, but also does other things differently.

Bar-On and Peretz referred to the importance of Israelis learning Arabic, in order to understand the other. Bar-On explained that the moment Israelis understand Arabic, they will be less anxious, because they will understand what the Palestinians are saying and they will realize that not everything they say is that they want to slaughter Israelis or *allahu akbar*.

Generating More Symmetric Encounters and Personal Contact between Israelis and Palestinians

The data suggests that by gaining more “physically quiet time” (longer periods without active attacks) and developing more realistic attitudes toward the conflict, various new meeting points between Israelis and Palestinians can be arranged. These new meetings could be the platform to the creation of more symmetric encounters between the two nations. These kinds of meetings will help individuals and groups in Israeli society to understand the Palestinians and to view them as equals. These meetings could be arranged in both formal and informal settings. According to Bar-On, acquaintance is one of the main solutions to the situation, since the conflict is then countered by the personal acquaintance and personal caring.

Levine facilitates and supervises Israeli–Palestinian groups in which each participant’s personal narrative can be heard and acknowledged. These meetings involve role-playing and the use of active listening techniques. According to Levine, the seemingly simple act of listening often helps in the development of identification. Then, when the people get to know each other, the orientation is towards actions and practical steps towards peaceful coexistence.

The Role of the Arts

Artist, Zvi Lachman, explains how art can bypass nationalism and activate humanism, for both the artist and the observer. According to him, works of art can connect wider aspects of human existence and can be seen as meeting points that link different human experiences. He believes that the greater the artist’s humanity, the broader the work becomes; the ability to create connections via the art increases while the artist’s humanity increases. The power of love and the action of expressing more and more love are the guiding rules that lead him both as a human being and as an artist. This description is in congruent with the literature’s view of sublimation

(Searle and Streng, 2001). Lachman believes for instance, that when he exhibits in a Palestinian village or city, the audience feels a certain affinity for the art that does not depend on whether the artist is a Jewish Israeli.

The data suggests that the desirable movement toward adaptation of more mature defenses does not proceed in a linear fashion; it includes both progress and regression. This prolonged process also includes many challenges and requires great effort. This finding correlates with theoreticians mentioned in the literature review (Bar – Tal, 2007; Grosbard, 2003; Vaillant, 1994). A change in basic attitudes, perceptions, behaviors, and emotions is a challenge for an individual and, even more so, for a society. The varied professions of the interviewees reflect not only the multiple layers of Israeli society, but also the wide range of realms this change will need to effect. Examples of these realms include political science, government, public administration, education, communication, psychology, law, economics, and international relations.

One of the most surprising findings of the interviews is the consensus among interviewees that an optimistic view regarding a possibility of a better future is necessary for developmental progress. The interviewees expressed a cautious belief in the ability of individuals and groups in Israeli society to advance along the “developmental scale” of defense mechanisms. They demonstrated a sober view of reality, acknowledging the physical and mental hardships that must be processed and overcome by Israeli society on its way towards the acquisition and use of higher-level defense mechanisms.

However, as Peretz mentioned, when social change does happen, it might grow in a circular and exponential manner, encompassing more and more individuals and groups. If more and more politicians from across the political spectrum are convinced that dialogue and peace

agreements are the way forward, if society could be exposed to a wide range of objective information, and if school curricula could be based on values such as humanism, equality, tolerance, and constructivism, the developments might proceed more rapidly.

This point regarding the necessity of optimism about a possibility of a better future is very much connected to the realm of expressive therapies. Unlike other psychotherapeutic orientations, expressive therapies are based on the employment of the healthy energy of its participants. According to Levine (1999), the arts have a unique capacity to respond to human suffering, to provide a “soul medicine” as McNiff (1992) defined it. Working with and through these artistic and creative forces is inherently linked to optimistic views and to potent perceptions which are so relevant in the creation of the desirable climate for social change.

Using Defense Mechanisms as a Diagnostic Tool

The tendency of many members of Israeli society to intensively use the defense mechanism of projection is strongly linked with the diagnosis of the Israeli society as a paranoid society (Grosbard, 2003). “The whole world is against us,” is what 56 percent of the Jewish public believe. A larger majority, 77 percent, thinks it no matter what Israel does or how much it tries to solve the Palestinian issue, the world will continue to be very critical of it. (Yaar & Hermann, 2010). The constant and partially unrealistic expectations of danger and harm from the Palestinians may be understood as a result of Israelis projecting their own hostility and aggression onto the Palestinians, who are then feared. The use of defense mechanisms such as denial, distortion, and repression explains why often when something happens that shows Israeli weakness (for instance, the intifada, the Yom Kippur War, the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and the Second Lebanon War) Israel wakes up in horror. Through the use of many well-developed mechanisms, the society represses the feeling that it might be living on

borrowed time, that the dream is about to vanish, that its true weakness will be revealed, and that this will be the end.

As a result of the intense use of these defenses, it is the belief of the author that Israeli society has a distorted perception of reality. The “paranoid personality” of Israeli society impairs the creation of normal relations with others, due to the tremendous anxieties and defenses involved. Such a personality is constantly preoccupied with itself, narcissistically and egocentrically, because it feels itself in a war of survival and, in the context of such a struggle, it is not free to see others and give them a place in its own consciousness. Based on its long history in the Diaspora, the diagnosis of the Israeli society as a paranoid one is not surprising. As mentioned, the basic emotional ingredients from which the society has been built were constant existential anxiety, instability and grandiose beliefs. Mixing these elements in a violent and troublesome environment, a paranoia is almost inevitable.

Another type of personality disorder that describes Israeli society is narcissistic personality disorder. According to the DSM-IV-TR (2000), this type of personality has an excessive sense of self-importance. It demands and expects to be admired and praised by others and is limited in its capacity to empathize and to appreciate other perspectives. One of the main characteristics of this disorder is grandiosity, meaning an inflated self-esteem or self-worth usually manifested as thinking or talking with themes reflecting the person’s belief that he or she is the greatest or has special attributes or abilities.

As previously described in the data, Israeli society meets many of these criteria. The feelings of omnipotence and the grandiose beliefs of itself as a chosen people and a light unto the nations make it hard for Israel to make peace because her feelings result from a position of superiority. Paranoid and grandiose stances go hand in hand and reinforce the use of the

immature defense mechanism of splitting, which states that everything about one side is good and that all the evil resides within the other.

According to Grosbard (2003), one of the definitions of a psychopathological personality is that it is unable to identify with others and feel their pain. In relation to the Israeli attitude toward the Palestinians, Israeli society meets that definition. It is the author opinion that over the years and in a variety of ways such as developing a narrow and one-dimensional educational system and controlling the media's contents, Israeli society has done everything not to recognize the existence of the Palestinians and their suffering. The fact that the establishment of the State of Israel was based on the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and the appropriation of their lands and homes was repressed and denied fully and deeply in the history of modern Israel. It was not discussed either in school or in the media. This was not accidental. Israel has chosen not to deal with the fact that it was born as an aggressor who hurt another people. For a long time, Israel preferred not to recognize Palestinian suffering and to remain in a state of confrontation. (Grosbard, 2003). Out of fear, Israeli society erased Palestinian existence from its consciousness.

Many individuals and groups in Israeli society can be seen as relying mainly on what, according to the DSM – IV's 7 defense levels, are characterized as lower to middle level defenses, such as level 6 (action) characterized by intense use of actions in order to cope with internal and external pressures; and level 4 (denial), characterized by the use of defenses such as denial, projection and rationalization. The author believes that over the years, this use of age-inappropriate defenses have led Israeli society to a negative and destructive outcome. Ways to reach higher-level defenses, such as level 1 (high level adaptation) which is characterized by a greater use of sublimation and suppression, will be presented in the following sub-section.

Increasing Empathy as a Tool for Change and Growth

The data suggest practical steps that can help transition toward the use of higher-level defense mechanisms. These steps are based first and foremost on the establishment of a long-term ceasefire, which might create the necessary space for a development process. As basic feelings of security increase, individuals and groups in Israeli society may be able to take an honest look at some of their deep-rooted distorted beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors relating to the Palestinians. Creating a more objective media, making changes within the educational system, generating more symmetric and personal meetings between Israelis and Palestinians are suggested as operational actions for acquiring and using higher-level defenses, such as sublimation, altruism, anticipation, and suppression.

The author suggests that developing this new reality evokes tremendous fears that have a great deal to do with the society members' own weaknesses and fears. However, admitting this anxiety to themselves and to the world, feeling it, dealing with it, and gradually letting it dissipate is probably the only way to work through this process and achieve long-term peace. After all, as people become aware of particular feelings, they weaken their ability to drive them in undesirable directions. Hopefully, this will be a process of growth in which different parts of the Israeli consciousness will be brought out into the open and finally, integrated. By moving closer to knowing and accepting parts of themselves and reducing their use of primitive defense mechanisms, individuals and groups in Israeli society will be more likely to view reality in a more objective manner and be better able to relate to Palestinians in a more empathic manner.

The idea of increased empathy brings us back to a finding regarding hardships witnessed among Israeli members of the Artsbridge groups when it came to reversing roles with Palestinian members of these groups. (Barzilay-Shechter, 2010). Role reversal is often defined as the

operational translation of empathy, which is the action of understanding, being aware of, being sensitive to, and vicariously experiencing the feelings, thoughts, and experience of the other. Through this work, it was discovered that although Israelis had the ability to form personal connections and to express caring attitudes toward Palestinians members in certain conditions, when nationalistic Palestinian themes were raised, the Israelis' reactions almost always were characterized by confusion, discomfort, anger and warding off. The ability to listen and to acknowledge the Palestinian's narrative was not sufficiently developed to engage in role reversal with "the other".

It is probably not a coincidence that in Peretz's school, the most important lesson the students learn is empathy for one another. Hand in Hand is a unique example of an institution that embodies the practical implications of this study and, indeed, the children at this school demonstrate different ways of thinking and behaving with respect to the conflict.

A way to increase empathy between the two sides may occur by enabling them to communicate in ways other than by using verbal language. Since Israelis speak Hebrew and Palestinians speak Arabic, there is a need for a neutral and equal form of communication in order to create a dialogue between the sides. Unlike verbal language, which at this point is loaded from years of public-relations conflicts, artistic expressions could serve as a relevant tool here. Lachman's view regarding the ability of the visual art to bypass nationalism and to activate humanism for its participants can be expanded here into other artistic modalities.

Musical expression, for instance, is an optional channel for this purpose of increasing empathy between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Amir (2005) discusses the ability of music to increase communications and to strengthen relations between people. According to her, playing music together in a group, for example, often strengthens the group's consolidation and the

feelings of belonging for members of the group. This type of experience is usually releasing and enjoyable and comes from the creative and spontaneous contribution of each one of the members. This type of work enables each one of the different instruments to be heard. Furthermore, the joining of each instrument to the others, when the whole orchestra is playing together, may empower the aesthetic experience, unlike the parallel process in the verbal channel.

Musical expression can also be used for intrapersonal work in a group format for the purpose of increasing empathy. Thus, for instance, Israeli members who find it hard to recognize and to relate with Palestinians themes, can improvise through playing music reflecting these matters. According to Spitz (1959), Priestly (1994), and Towse (1991), that type of work may help group members to unlock feelings around the political conflict and to communicate it through less automatic and fixed ways. Hearing the music instead of loaded political words, may than enable new connections to the explored topic, for members themselves and between members.

Another artistic modality that can be used in order to increase empathy is drama. In the author's work with Israelis and Palestinians, the use of nonverbal dramatic tools (such as silent improvisations and sculpture) often helps progress when words block the way towards progress and healing (Barzilay-Shechter, 2010). Working on challenging emotions, such as anger, fear, guilt, and pain, without the verbal aspect that usually accompanies and directs them, enables vivid and sharp demonstration of the similarity of everyone's emotional state. The achieved understanding regarding the emotions of "the other" is more physical and less logical. This creates a different kind of relationship and helps in paving the way towards empathy.

Deepening the ability of Israelis to accept the Palestinian's narrative through expressive techniques may proceed into role reversal with the Palestinians, in order to gain a deeper and fuller sense of their experience. This type of work then can expose the participants to the projections they cast on the other and touch upon suppressed spots within. (Blatner, 1988; Kellerman, 1986).

After the ability to role-reverse is achieved, developing the role of the "the other side" and actually playing the role via dramatic techniques can help in further processing the projection. Then, through the introjections of the projected parts, the participant can overcome primary splits and create a more harmonic inner integration between them and "the other". Through this process of projection and introjection, the identities of the participants might gradually soften and become more synthesized. This healing process is relevant for all the participants in these types of psychodramatic or dramatherapeutic processes, whether they are taking an active role in the drama or witnessing it as the audience. Each of them can acknowledge aspects of themselves previously resisted. (Jenkyns, 2001). Learning different ways to speak and to relate to the Palestinians, and growing in the ability to be empathetic toward them, will result in individuals and groups in Israeli society using higher and more mature defenses.

There is an interesting consensus among the literature, the interviews and between the interviewees themselves. Ideas raised by one interviewee were often raised and elaborated upon by others. The scholarly literature indicates that defense mechanisms can be a diagnostic tool of individuals and groups in Israel, describing society's attitudes and behaviors regarding the Palestinians; the interviewees' activities are focused more on future action, and can be viewed as

suggestions for ways in which members of Israeli society might advance towards the use of more mature defenses in their relations with the Palestinians.

The contemporary scholarly literature also gives us glimpses into the emotional way Israeli society views the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, and a growing comparison between the peace process and the healing one. The interviews demonstrated a process of gradual emotional development over the course of all the interviews. In general, the use of lower defenses are connected with negative feelings such as hate and fear, the use of higher and more mature defenses usually involve positive affects and values such as love, forgiveness, tolerance, and compassion. Bar-On acknowledged the need to move towards positive emotions as the basis for education and the need to develop materials to help teach Israeli children not to hate Arabs. Lachman then went one-step further than Bar-On by referring to love as a motivational force that leads him, both as a human being and as an artist. Golan finds her definition of Zionism in love that inquires, confronts, and does not give up:

What's Zionism? We constantly argue among ourselves about the meaning of Zionism and there are many new definitions . . . In my eyes, it's first and foremost associated with love . . . love of a place, love of the land, love of the people . . . And I was taught, and my parents' lifestyle says, that love is not always blind. You have to ask questions. If I have a husband who beats me and I love him, what then? Let love be blind and stay with him and not confront him with what's hard for me? I'm a loving person, it's important to me, and the things that this love is doing are hard for me. It's hard for me, but I'm still not ready to say I don't love. For me, it's quite simple now.

Limitations of the Present Study

The present study drew on a small sample of participants, all educated liberal adult Jewish Israelis who came to the United States for different reasons and for different periods of time, and who are dealing with the Israeli–Palestinian conflict from different perspectives. Each participant is highly involved with the issues being explored in this study and came to the interview with strong and developed views on the Israeli – Palestinian conflict. A wider variety of participants might have resulted in a different analysis of the issue. For example, there would most likely be different views expressed had interviewees been with Orthodox Jewish or very right wing individuals. It should be remembered that Israeli society is diverse, complex, and includes many different groups. Focusing only on a specific sector does not provide a representative or accurate image of the society as a whole.

The fact that all of the interviews took place in the U.S. might have affected the findings of this study. Cultural dislocation might have affected the responses of the participants. In addition, the physical distance might have influenced the cognitive and emotional aspects of the interviewees. As they all mentioned, tangible separation from the region and events occurring there enables new exposure to, and new observation and processing of, old and new types of information. In combination with the possibility of gaining emotional distance, this cognitive process might be connected to the strong criticism of Israeli society that was voiced in the interviews and might not have been expressed had the interviews been conducted in Israel.

The fact that I am part of Israeli society may have also influenced the way I conducted this research and interpreted the results. Despite my efforts to remain as objective as possible, there are probably some unconscious biases and influences of which I was not aware. It would be interesting to see the results of a similar study conducted by a non-Israeli, non-Jewish researcher.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study demonstrates the possible contribution that the accumulated knowledge of psychological defense mechanisms could have to understanding and processing the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Study of this contribution is in its infancy and deserves further attention. Future research into this promising concept within the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict could focus on different angles, such as diagnosis and characterization of the current state of affairs or actual therapeutic work that could be done to achieve a quieter and more peaceful future. The therapeutic work might aim to change the existing forces delaying development (such as the use of lower-level defenses), or find new channels to promote the development of the climate necessary for the desirable acquisition of more adaptive defenses.

A research question I hope to complete in the future is an exploration of whether Israeli and Palestinian participants in binational groups use more mature and complex defenses in place of lower ones. As mentioned earlier, in my master's thesis (Barzilay-Shechter, 2003), I provided empirical evidence of the ability of psychodrama to work on the defense mechanisms of the client via a variety of methods that differ from the classically accepted psychoanalytical methods of treatment. The results of the research showed how the processing of defense mechanisms by psychodramatic means could pave the way to catharsis, insight, and the acquisition of more adaptive and complex defenses. It would be interesting to test these findings on clients' specific defenses in connection with the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and to assess whether other artistic modalities are able to contribute to this type of work. This study would be both quantitative and qualitative, using accepted tools for the assessment of defense mechanisms, such as the Defense Mechanisms Manual, the Defense Style Questionnaire, and the Defense Mechanism Rating Scale.

Finally, while this study focused solely on the defense mechanisms of Israeli society in relation to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, it would be interesting to evaluate the use of defense mechanisms in the context of other anxiety-evoking issues facing Israeli society, such as the relationship between immigrants and native-born Israelis or secular and religious Israeli Jews.

Conclusions

Throughout this paper, I have tried to demonstrate ways in which the concept of defense mechanisms can be applied to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Although the classic Freudian view of defense mechanisms refers to individuals and the way in which they deal with anxiety, and the Israeli–Palestinian conflict is a case of political–historical and even religious warfare between nations, the juxtaposition of these two subjects can yield a rich discourse. Usually, when the Israeli–Palestinian conflict is analyzed, its physical–behavioral aspect obstructs its other dimensions. However, as demonstrated in this dissertation, it is crucial to deal with the emotional aspect of the conflict in order to move forward. Throughout the years, this aspect has been systematically nurtured in a negative direction. Generations of Israelis have been raised and educated on hate and fear towards the Palestinians, using primitive defenses such as distortion, denial, and splitting in their approach to the conflict. The use of these defenses, as well as others, has led to unethical behavior, distorted perceptions of reality, and suffering. When comparing the peace process to the healing process, the development process of individual defense mechanisms and the analogous development in Israeli social groups in relation to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict can contribute a great deal, both diagnostically and therapeutically, to the acquisition of more mature defenses such as sublimation, anticipation and altruism. The realm of expressive therapies can contribute highly to this endeavor while enabling additional tools for intrapersonal and interpersonal work on, and with, the defenses. Hopefully, this kind of work will improve the

relationship between Israelis and Palestinians and help in the creation of a better and more peaceful future.

APPENDIX A:
THE DEFENSE MECHANISMS

Acting Out (outbreak). This mechanism is expressed by an irrational and impulsive exhibition of feelings and emotions that were previously inhibited.

Altruism. This mechanism lets the individual satisfy her or his needs and impulses by identifying with the satisfaction of the needs of others.

Anticipation. This mechanism involves realistic and affect-laden planning for future discomfort. Rather than use self-deception, anticipation spreads anxiety out over time. It involves the self-inoculation of taking one's affective pain in small, anticipatory doses.

Denial. In contrast to repression, which ensures that threatening content will not enter consciousness, denial allows the threatening content to surface, but tags on a claim that the content is invalid. Denial is directed at threatening issues in the external environment as well as those inner realities.

Displacement. This is the transfer of impulses, emotions and the like from one object to another due to their threat with its concomitant anxiety. The alternative object does not trigger anxiety and thus forbidden emotions can be voiced about it.

Distortion. This mechanism refers to the changing and disguising the content (mainly of dreams) that in undistorted form could be threatening and anxiety-provoking.

Humor. Through this mechanism, the individual expresses forbidden impulses by using indirect and more accepted measures. Psychic energy that was channeled into curtailing the impulses is released and takes on the form of laughter.

Identification/interjection. In this mechanism, the ego acts in reverse of the mechanism of projection. The ego internalizes opinion, emotions, customs, standards, and values from the external environment and attributes them to itself. Internalization and identification that are done within reason are part of learning and acquiring the skills of healthy coping. However, there is a

danger of internalizing with negative, distorted, or exaggerated values that often serve as compensation or camouflage for the real ego.

Inhibition. Using this mechanism, an individual makes a conscious attempt at preventing certain undesirable thoughts from entering the stream of consciousness.

Intellectualization. Using this mechanism, the individual deals with a certain problem or emotional state by turning it into an intellectual question into which he or she delves while ignoring the emotional and personal sides involved. This is “intellectualization of the conflict.” The impulse is not escaped, rather, it is addressed by attempting to control it through the alternate psychic avenue of the intelligence.

Isolation. This mechanism divides between the emotional section and the contextual section of a thought, a memory, or impulse, because without this division, anxiety is triggered. The isolation of the context from the emotion allows the ego to reduce the intensity of the anxiety. In this way the thought or the memory filter into consciousness while they are still detached from the emotion that usually accompanies them.

Omnipotence. Refers to the thought that beliefs, wishes, hopes, and thoughts of the individual have an influence on the external. Some believe this mechanism to be an aspect of the denial mechanism.

Passive Aggressive Behavior. This is the expression of aggression in a passive form.

Projective identification. With the help of this mechanism, the individual projects on the object anxiety-triggering emotional experiences. The individual remains in ongoing contact and identifies with those parts that have been projected and which are now lodged within the object.

Projection. In this mechanism, the ego removes ideas, tendencies, or feelings that threaten it and attributes them to other people. Every idea or feeling inappropriate to the ego’s

self-image is transferred to an external object, usually accompanied by denial of the existence of these ideas or feelings within itself and always repressing the fact that they refer to oneself.

Rationalization. By means of this mechanism, the individual provides him- or herself with a logical explanation for his or her behavior, which stems from instinctual impulses that are unacceptable to the ego. In order not to admit the instinctual origin of the behavior, the individual invests energy, often a fair amount, in finding explanations that sometimes sound logical and sometimes sound forced and farfetched.

Regression. Using this mechanism, the adult ego returns to an earlier pattern of behavior, usually a childish nature unsuited to the person's age. This is done as a solution to inability to cope with a difficult or threatening situation. Regression can be slight or extreme, difficult or drawn out. Regression affords the individual a sense of security because the return to patterns of behavior that prevent dealing with a threatening situation allow the reconstruction of childlike experience, shielded from life's difficulties.

Repression. The removal of certain impulses or thoughts from the conscious to the unconscious due to their threat to the ego. Repression is a powerful and extremely effective mechanism that enables the control of intense impulses not given to control by other mechanisms. Repression is a one-time occurrence, with the ego acting under the influence of the anxiety triggered by certain dangerous issues. Afterward, there is a recurring investment of psychic energy to keep the contents of the repression intact, as they continue to act unconsciously and make their presence known in symbolic and disguised form in dreams, slips of the tongue or pen, and neurotic symptoms.

Repression takes several forms:

1. Archaic repression, in which primitive and forbidden impulses are blocked and prevented from ever reaching awareness.
2. Primary repression, in which anxiety-provoking content is forcefully distanced from consciousness and prevented from surfacing.
3. Secondary repression, in which elements that can serve as reminders of the original issue are also repressed.

Repression can be dangerous because detaching entire sections of psychic, emotional, and impulsive content from the ego can severely harm the integrity of the personality and cause the creation of mental illness. Moreover, the investment energy needed to preserve the repression is so large that it limits the amount of energy available to creative and constructive behaviors. The external expressions of repression are many; they characteristically include forgetting the events, people, and places that were important to a person and which would be likely to be remembered.

Reversal. Hiding true impulses and desires by behaving in reverse of what the impulses demand. Reversal includes two stages: repression of the unacceptable impulse and expression of an accepted behavior. The first stage is unconscious (and is in fact the mechanism of repression) and the second stage is done consciously.

Splitting. This mechanism aims at dividing between “good” and “bad” objects to ensure that the bad objects will not ruin the good ones. This approach divides reality into black and white only without interim shades. This mechanism is often called idealization and devaluation: An object about which ambivalent feelings exists is split into two ideational representations, one totally bad (devaluation) and the other completely good (idealization).

Sublimation. This is a defense mechanism that is almost completely positive and attests to healthy, productive, and creative coping. The ego exchanges the instinctual aim of its impulses with useful, socially acceptable goals and channels its energy into promoting these goals. This mechanism channels impulses positively and redirects them into directions that promote the individual and society simultaneously. The important advantage of sublimation as opposed to other defense mechanisms is to be found in the fact that it does not require an incessant investment of energy to prevent the expression of the impulse; the expression of the impulse appears in legitimate form both psychologically and socially and contributes to improving the individuals' self-image.

Suppression. This mechanism involves the capacity to keep the idea and the feeling in mind while waiting—uncomplainingly—a finite or an infinite, length of time. It involves the semiconscious decision to postpone paying attention to a conscious impulse or conflict. Freud once commented that the postponement of gratification is the hallmark of maturity (Vaillant, 1993).

Undoing. This mechanism is apparent in an action that symbolically and unconsciously cancels or negates a previous thought.

(DSM-IV)

APPENDIX B:
THE DEFENSE MECHANISM MANUAL

The Defense Mechanism Manual was developed to assess the use of three defenses—denial, projection, and identification—as revealed in stories told to standard TAT and CAT cards. Specific criteria have been developed for CAT Cards 3, 5, and 10, and for TAT Cards 1, 2, 3BM, 3GF, 4, 5, 6BM, 6GF, 7BM, 7GF, 8BM, 8GF, 10, 12F, 12MF, 13G, 13MF, 14, 15, 17BM, 18GF, 20, and the research Trapeze card.

The scoring for each defense is based on seven categories, each designed to reflect a different aspect of the defense. Each category may be scored as often as necessary, with the exception of a direct repetition in the story; in cases of repetition, the category is scored only once

Although examples are provided to aid in deciding whether a category should be scored or not, inevitably questions will arise. A thorough knowledge of the nature of the defense mechanisms will help in answering these questions. Beyond this, the general rule to be followed is, “When in doubt, leave it out.” That is, if there is a serious question about whether or not the story segment is an example of the defense, do not score it.

DENIAL: SUMMARY OF SCORING CATEGORIES

1. Omission
2. Misperception
3. Reversal
4. Statements of Negation
5. Denial of Reality
6. Overly Maximizing Positive, Minimizing Negative
7. Unexpected Goodness, Optimism, Positiveness, Gentleness

DENIAL

A. Primitive Denial

In the categories of primitive Denial, the story-teller assumes that the stimulus card is something, and the defense is seen in the avoidance or changing the nature of that thing.

1. Omission of Major Characters of Objects

Failure to perceive salient stimuli that are perceived by nearly all one's peers.

This applies only to the major or obvious objects. Omission of any of these objects from the story is scored, according to the following plan.

CAT 3: pipe plus cane = 1

mouse = 1

lion = 1

CAT 5: 2 out of 3; bed, forms in bed, crib = 1

teddy bears = 1

CAT 10: bathroom = 1

adult dog = 1

baby dog = 1

TAT 1: boy = 1

violin = 1

TAT 2: girl in front = 1

pregnant woman = 1 (pregnancy must be indicated)

man (or, family, parents) = 1

TAT 3BM: person = 1

gun or knife = 1

TAT 3GF: person = 1

TAT 4: man = 1

woman = 1

TAT 5: woman = 1

room = 1

TAT 6BM: young man = 1

older woman = 1

TAT 6GF: man = 1

woman = 1

TAT 7BM: older man = 1

younger man = 1

TAT 7GF: young girl = 1

woman = 1

baby or doll = 1

TAT 8BM: gun = 1

knife = 1

standing young man = 1

prone man = 1

TAT 8GF: woman = 1

TAT 10: human figure 1 = 1

human figure 2 = 1

TAT 12F: young woman = 1

old woman = 1

TAT 12MF: standing man = 1

prone man = 1

TAT 13G: stairway = 1

female figure = 1

TAT 13MF: standing man = 1

prone woman = 1

TAT 14: standing man = 1

window = 1

TAT 15: man = 1

tombstones (graveyard) = 1

TAT 17BM: man = 1

rope = 1

TAT 18GF: woman above = 1

woman below = 1

TAT 20: man standing = 1

lamppost (light) = 1

Trapeze: man = 1

woman = 1

trapeze = 1

Do not score if reference to the function of a critical object is made. For

example, the knife in TAT 8BM may be implied by the mention of an operation, or stabbing; the gun in TAT 8BM may be implied by shooting; the cane in CAT 3 may be implied by reference to lameness.

On TAT 1, reference to the object, even if not named, is sufficient.

(However, if it is named incorrectly, score under Denial(2).

On TAT 7GF, reference to “holding something” is sufficient.

2. Misperception

This may come about because the perceptual process itself is distorted due to pathology, or because, in the case of a child or inexperienced person the name of the object is not known, and the individual defensively calls it something it is not, rather than referring to it as a “thing” or an “object”, in which case no score is given. In this latter case, the point is whether, in a situation in which the individual does not have all the information needed, he is able to cope adaptively, or whether he must distort the situation to fit his inadequate knowledge.

Examples of adaptive coping are seen in the following two stories to TAT 1;

in both cases, the child is uncertain about how to identify the violin:

“This person is thinking what to do, with something that is in front of him.

He might use it for something, or something might happen. The thing that might

happen is that he might think of something to do with the thing. (What happens?)

He’s going to do something with it. He’s thinking what he will use it for, what it is supposed to be used for; on some kind of material, which is called paper.”

“That’s a little boy. He’s down on his work bench and he’s looking this over and he’s wondering what it is. And he’s wondering if he’ll ever find out. He can’t wait ‘till his father comes

home so he can ask his father. And he's kind of sitting there wondering when his father will come home."

(a) Any unusual or distorted perception of a figure, object, or action in the picture which is without sufficient support for the observation, if and only if the projected image is NOT of ominous quality, in which case it would be scored under Projection

"(TAT8BM) The man is tickling the man lying down;"

"(CAT3) He's in a wheelchair"

"(TAT1) That's a cross-bow;"

"(TAT17BM) That's a statue climbing down a rope";

"(TAT1) He's eating;"

"(TAT17BM) Is that a picture of me?" (S is 5 years old)

(TAT10) Perceiving both characters as "young";

(TAT15) score "ghost" under Projection (2)

(b) Perception of a figure as being of the opposite sex from that usually perceived

"(TAT12M) The girl on the couch" [As of 2000, many see this figure as female. Thus, after this date, do not score "girl" as a Misperception]

(TAT10) Perceiving both characters as female, or both as male.

If the story-teller is an adult, score the following as Misperception:

(TAT 3BM) "The child on the floor"

(TAT14) "A child at the window"

Note: If the story-teller misperceives an object, and then corrects the misperception, score Denial(2). If, after the correction, he continues

To use the misperception as the basis for the story, score also under Denial(5).

Do not score on TAT 1 if children call the violin a guitar, harp, or instrument.

Do not score if violin is called a “thing”, “object”, or “that”. Only score when violin is turned into something other than a musical instrument. Do not score if violin is referred to as “homework or a “project” unless it is clear that this means something other than a violin - e.g., a book, a boat, etc.

3. Reversal

The reversal may be either in terms of the usual perception of the card or in the story itself, especially when the reversal is normatively unusual.

(a) *Transformations* such as weakness into strength, fear into courage, passivity into activity, and vice versa.

“He had been king of the jungle, but now he was very old”;

“The mouse used to be afraid; then he grew up and fought the lion”;

“He used to be an excellent surgeon, but then he killed a man by mistake”;

Note: If the transformation involves a drastic change for the good, score under Denial(7).

(b) *Score any figure who takes on qualities previously stated conversely* in the story, including change of sex of figure.

“(TAT12M) The boy is in a coma and the man is hexing him. The boy will get the man in his power”;

“He’s dead, and he’ll come back to life.”

“(TAT17BM) I am in a big cave and I’m caught . And he’s half way up to the top (Here the S has changed the threatened “I” into “he”);

“He is an actress (S is 9 years old)”

A character first described as a Father becomes a Grandfather, or vice versa.

Reversal differs from Denial(4) and Denial(6) in that it involves both ends of a continuum (e.g., weak-strong), rather than just one end which is negated (e.g., weak-not weak: Denial 4) or overly stressed (Denial 6).

Reversal may be scored where one end of the continuum is implied but not explicitly stated (strength—weakness, implied by growing old).

Do not score “growing old” by itself.

Do not score if a character doesn’t know how to do something and then learns how.

Do not score if character was strong, became weak through tiredness, but in the end won, or was strong again; or if sad, but through doing something, becomes happy.

4. Statements of Negation

Simply stating something in the negative (e.g., “He didn’t do it”) is not sufficient to be scored in this category.

Whether or not to score a negative statement depends on whether the negation is defensive.

Sometimes this can be determined by the fact that the negative statement is unusual or unexpected (e.g., “He didn’t stuff peanuts up his nose”) - i.e., that no one would have expected this event to happen anyway, so why point out that it didn’t happen. At other times the defensive nature of the negation is more straightforward (e.g., “He didn’t get hurt”). Often, only the context will make it clear if the statement is defensive or not.

(a) Score if a character “does not ...” any action, wish, or intention, which, if acknowledged, would cause displeasure, pain or humiliation.

(b) “He caught the mouse but did not kill him”;

“He never fell down from ropes”

(b) *Score also statements in which the story-teller negates or denies a fact or feeling.*

“He is going to go hunting and catch something. I don’t know what, though”

“I don’t know what that is (referring to whole card or part of card)”;

“At first I thought he was dead, but he isn’t;”

“No one is in that bed (CAT 5, referring to large bed)”

“I don’t know where he is going”.

(c) *References to doubt as to what the picture is or represents.*

“What is it? I don’t understand the picture”

should be scored here, and should be distinguished from references to

difficulty in formulating a story

(“I can’t think of what to say”)

which is an example of Repression. The difference lies in the fact that

Denial generally operates on a more concrete level, while Repression is seen in the person’s inability to think of something.

Do not score if “I don’t know” is used as a way to end a story, or is in response to a question by the examiner.

Do not score if a character wants to or tries to do something, but can’t or isn’t able to, or doesn’t know how to.

Do not score if a character doesn’t like something, or doesn’t want to do something that is neutral or pleasant in nature (e. g., do not score “He doesn’t want to practice the violin”)

Do not score “He doesn’t want to get hurt,” but do score “He doesn’t get hurt”

Do not score “He does not reveal it” (a secret, a clue) here; score under PRO 4)

Do not score, on TAT 17BM, “He’s got no clothes on”.

Do not score if subject asks, at the end of the story, if the story was “right” or “correct”.

5. Denial of Reality

This is an overlapping category with Denial (4)

(a) The story-teller denies the reality of the story or situation by the use of phrases such as

“It was just a dream”;

“It didn’t really happen”

“It was all make-believe”

“(TAT 8BM) That’s really a dummy; when they cut it, it was all red cotton”;

“They’re going to play (pretend) a fight”

“(TAT 3BM): describing the gun as cap pistol or water pistol

Describing the picture as part of a movie

Do not score TAT8BM if it is described as a dream, due to the nebulous atmosphere of the picture.

(b) Sleeping, daydreaming or fainting as a way of avoiding something unpleasant.

(c) References to avoiding looking at something that would be unpleasant to see, or hearing something that would be unpleasant to hear, or thinking something that would be unpleasant to think.

“He’s walking away because he doesn’t want to see the operation”

(d) Any perception, attribution, or implication which is blatantly false with regard to reality as generally defined or to reality as defined by the picture.

“(CAT 10) The two dogs are playing checkers”;

“(CAT 10, referring to crib) Nothing is in here”;

“(CAT 10) He’s going to have puppies”

“The dog climbs up the rope”;

“(TAT15) He has come up out of his grave”

“(TAT17BM) A statue climbing a rope” (score also under Denial(2) for misperception of figure in the picture. The score under Denial(5) is for a statue doing something which statues cannot do in reality.

Note: If the perception is not false so much as being unusual or distorted, including seeing the picture as being of the opposite sex from the usual perception, score under Denial(2).

Do not score running away from or avoiding ‘society’ here; score under Identification(3).

B. Pollyannish Denial

Pollyannish denial belongs to a later period of development than primitive denial, and may involve a rather saccharine, “life is beautiful” attitude. It is often characterized by a note of unfounded optimism.

6. Overly Maximizing the Positive or Minimizing the Negative

Any gross exaggeration or underestimation of a character’s qualities, potency, size, power, beauty, or possessions.

“(CAT3) A small lion”;

“An old lion (weakness implied)”;

“The most beautiful in the world”;

“The biggest in the world” (referring to person, animal, or parts of these;

“The eagle picks up the lion”;

Note: If the exaggerated quality involves a reversal of the character's usual nature, score under Denial(3).

Do not score exaggeration of physical objects (e.g., "the highest mountain"; "he fell thousands of feet")

7. Unexpected Goodness, Optimism, Positiveness, Gentleness

(a) *Unexpected goodness.* This is a difficult category to score and should be scored only when beyond doubt. It is often seen in instances of revenge, when the revenge is built up to, but never consummated when the opportunity arises. Building up to a theme of harm and then concluding without justification that all is well is scored here. Also when a character "takes his lumps" or punishment or bad luck completely in stride when all previous indications were of an avenging "righteous indignation" attitude.

"The lion chases the mouse for many hours; he finally catches him, but then he lets him go";

"He has always failed, but he knows that he will be successful in the end."

(b) *Any sort of drastic change of heart for the good.*

"He is a murderer who goes around killing people. But then he decides to become a doctor and saves many lives".

(c) *Also scored here are references to natural beauty, wonder, awesomeness.*

"He realized the beauty and magnificence of the forest"

"She contemplated the wonder of the universe".

"(TAT1) He found peace with his violin"

"(TAT14) He finds enlightenment"

(d) *Nonchalance in the face of danger.*

(e) Acceptance of one's (negative) fate or loss, with the justification of not really wanting it anyway; a "sour grapes" attitude.

"He learns to make the best out of what he's got."

Note: If the change for the good involves a moralistic turn, score under Identification(7).

Do not score "they lived happily ever after" or similar cliches if used at the end of a story.

PROJECTION: SUMMARY OF SCORING CATEGORIES

1. Attribution of Aggressive or Hostile Feeling, Emotions, or Intentions to a Character, or Other Feelings, Emotions, or Intentions that are Normatively Unusual.
2. Additions of Ominous People, Ghosts, Animals, Objects or Qualities.
3. Magical or Circumstantial Thinking
4. Concern for Protection from External Threat
5. Apprehensiveness of Death, Injury, or Assault
6. Themes of Pursuit, Entrapment, and Escape
7. Bizarre or Very Unusual Story or Theme

PROJECTION

1. Attribution of Aggression or Hostile Feelings, Emotions, or Intentions to a character, or of any other feelings, emotions or intentions that are normatively unusual.

This category may be scored either when such emotions are attributed by the story-teller to a character in the story, or when one character attributes them to another character, but only if such attribution is without sufficient reason. References to a character's face or eyes looking a

certain way (e.g., anguished, puzzled, etc.) or to body “position” or “posture” are scored here.

“He killed her because he hated her” (with no explanation of the reason for his hatred) [Score twice, once under PRO(5)];

“(CAT3) This is a mean lion”

“I think he dislikes me” (unexplained);

“(CAT3) The Lion growls too much”;

“(CAT3, mouse speaking) I think that lion is thinking about getting after me”;

“His parents don’t care, even if he’s sick” (This is a borderline case, but is scored because it is implied that the parents, through neglect, are mean to the child);

“(TAT1) He is looking at it with contempt” (This is also somewhat borderline but is scored here because contempt includes hostility towards the object of contempt);

“(TAT17BM) He had to find his girl friend or they would kill her (unexplained)”

TAT17BM) Maybe he’s angry (unexplained)”;

“(TAT17BM) “Probably that look on his face is a signal of some kind”;

“(TAT17BM) His features become distorted and take on the look of an animal as it hides from a hunter”;

“(TAT17BM) His look is that of frustration and great emotion (scored once)”;

“(TAT17BM) He has a mean personality; he is a murderer (scored twice)”;

“(TAT17BM) He was in the shower ...a fire... he feels embarrassed [due to nakedness]”;

“(TAT1) He’s looking at it in a mad way (unexplained);

“He’s contemplating suicide”;

“(TAT4): They’re kissing”

Note: Score aggressive or hostile actions under PRO(5).

Do not score TAT 17BM for simple mention of fright, tenseness, or tiredness.

Do not score TAT 4 for woman pleading with man.

Do not score depression or thought of suicide on TAT 13MF; if suicide is actually carried out on card other than TAT 13MF, score PRO(5).

Do not score TAT 3BM or 3GF for simple mention of sadness, upset or depression, or crying, if reason is given.

Do not score TAT 6GF for mention of woman looking surprised, startled.

2. Addition of Ominous People, Ghosts, Animals, Objects or Qualities.

(a) This category is scored only if the details added to the situation are of an ominous or potentially threatening nature.

“(CAT3) He got an axe and killed him”;

“(CAT3) They said if he wasn’t good they’d put him in front of alligators”

“(CAT5) He was afraid to go to sleep because he heard scary noises ... then a robber came (score both for noises and for robber) (score fear of sleep under PRO5);

“(CAT5) There are bees outside the window”

“(TAT1) That’s a dangerous toy”

“(TAT 3BM) being in “jail”

“(TAT10) Mention of war, “going to war”.

(TAT15) “ghost”

“(TAT17BM) There are warriors coming”;

“(TAT17BM) The guards are trying to get him (This is a borderline case; do not score for mention of guards alone; score only if the guards are clearly threatening; if guards are pursuing, score under PRO(6) only);”

“(TAT17BM) The soldiers throw spears (score only once for the spears; the soldiers alone are not necessarily ominous)”; “fire”

Do not score TAT 17BM for mention of prison, dungeon, cave, guards alone, prisoner, or pursuers (the latter is scored under PRO(6).

(b) Score especially the addition of blood, mention of serious and uncommon illnesses, including mental illness, comas, and nightmares.

“(TAT8BM) This guy got badly hit by malaria;”

“(TAT12M) He finds out that the boy is in a coma”;

“(TAT8BM) He has these horrible nightmares”.

(c) Also, score here references to people, animals or objects being decrepit, falling apart, deteriorating or ‘shabby’.

“(CAT5) This crib looks like it’s going to fall over”;

“(CAT5) It must have been an old crib that they sent away to a place to get fixed up”

“(CAT5) The lamp looks like it’s all cracked”;

“(TAT1) He’s sad because one of his strings are broke;

“He found his violin all over the floor all broken”;

“He grew up in a broken home”

Note: In TAT1, score for violin being broken only if the implication is that someone not in the picture (unknown or disliked) breaks it, or if it was broken before the story begins (i.e., was ‘inherently’ damaged).

Do not score if a friend or parent breaks it.

Note: If the same addition is called two different things, score only once (e.g., “a bat or a black widow”; “a thorn, not a hornet”)

Do not score the addition of a bullet in TAT8BM.

Do not score TAT 17BM, rope breaking while climbing, unless prior mention is made of the rope being inadequate to support weight.

Do not score “falling apart” if this is due to some other event specified in the story, such as an explosion, fire, earthquake, etc., which are themselves scored.

Do not score “sick” or “really sick” on TAT12M.

Do not score hearing a noise on TAT5.

Do not score “grave” on TAT 15

3. Magical, Autistic, or Circumstantial Thinking

(a) Any use of magic or magical powers, including hypnosis or other unusual powers or control of one character over another; this also includes animals banding together to accomplish some herculean task.

“He was thinking that he had a magic bird that followed him and saved him”;

“The boy died and the parents got a dog, and every night they could hear the boy talking to him”;

“He was putting spells all over the man”;

“This hypnotist turned him into a little green thing”.

(b) Animism: attribution of human thoughts or emotions to objects

other than animals and people (not applicable to the ‘teddy bears’ of CAT5).

“Canes talking”;

“Rifles feeling sorry”;

“(TAT1) The project has a problem”;

“(TAT1) An idiotic violin”;

“(TAT17BM) The rope tried to overpower him”.

(c) Circumstantial reasoning that may have a paranoid flavor; hyperalert search for flaws and misleading cues (implies a mistrust of others); efforts to find hidden or obscure meanings; criticism of the way in which the pictures are drawn (implied is that this makes the task more difficult).

“(TAT17BM)...A bobcat jumped at him. Because this is out in the woods and the door was open”;

“(TAT17BM) It must have been a murder he committed, because he isn’t carrying any valuables or money”;

“There’s probably a trick to this”;

“Is the rope supposed to suggest a hanging?”.

4. Concern for Protection Against External Threat

(a) Include here evidence for fear of external threat of physical assault or injury and the need for protection against that threat, as seen in the erection of walls (real or imaginary), use of masks, disguises, shields, armor, locking of doors or windows, or creation of other protective barriers.

“(CAT3) The mouse is really worried that the lion will bring the cats in and they’ll chase the mice (This overlaps with PRO6, but is scored here because the emphasis is on the worry)”;

“The king kicks him out but he puts on a disguise and gets back in again”;

(b) Also included here are references to suspiciousness, to people or animals hiding or “lying in wait”, concern about being “taken by surprise”, spying on others, keeping a lookout, anticipation of kidnap that does not occur, or a feeling that “others are against you”(stated explicitly).

“(CAT5) There’s a great big man who is under those covers”;

“(CAT5) The mother and the father are hiding in the bed;”

“(CAT5) There’s a crib and no one is there and they wouldn’t know if anyone stealed them”;

“(TAT17BM) He has witnessed a crime and is being hunted by the killer”

“(TAT5) “The mother sneaked downstairs and peeks in”

Concern that someone is trying to pin a crime or other offense on oneself;

Blackmailing

(c) References to having seen something one shouldn’t have seen, or having heard something one wasn’t supposed to hear, or that will get one into trouble, and the necessity for hiding this; hiding incriminating evidence; protective hiding of oneself or one’s property; fear of being seen.

“(TAT17BM) He was captured because he knew too much about something, possibly murder

(score once for captured [PRO6], and once

for knowing)”;

“(TAT17BM) He’s breaking out of prison ... he’s looking around to see

if anyone sees him (score once for escape [PRO6] and once for fear of

being seen)”.

(d) Responses indicating a defensive need for self-justification on the part of the story-teller (i.e., not in response to a question from the examiner).

“(TAT8BM) I say it is a gun because it looks like one we had at home”;

“Although this is just a first reaction, he looks like he is escaping”.

5. Apprehensiveness of Death, Injury, or Assault

This is an overlapping category with PRO(4)

(a) The difference is that in PRO(5) the death, physical attack or injury actually occurs or has occurred, whereas in PRO(4) the emphasis on the need for protection against threat.

Unexplained or unjustified punishment is scored here, as is completed suicide.

“(CAT10) The doggie got run over”;

“It looks like his father has just died”;

“(CAT5) Once there was a baby, and he had no mommy. His mommy died”;

“He fell off and broke his leg”;

“His son died”;

“He shoots himself”;

“He looks like he just had a fight before”;

“He poisoned all the bloodhounds”;

“He murdered her”;

“He gets eaten by the alligators”;

“He got slapped around”.

“His pet dog (cat, horse, etc.) was injured (died)”

The following are borderline cases but are scored here because injury is suggested as resulting from the fall. (Do not score a “fall” by itself.)

“The man’s going to fall. On his head”;

“The rope is going to fall.. It ends with his body down on the floor”.

(b) Score here also fear of going to sleep.

“At night he was afraid to go to sleep”.

If character is described as dead, and in addition the cause of death (e. g., being stabbed, shot) is described, score once for death and again for means of assault. If both the assault (e.g., being stabbed, shot) and the presence of the weapon (knife, gun) are described, score PRO 5 for the assault and PRO 2 for the weapon.

Do not score justified punishment by authority or parents. Score under Identification(3).

Do not score if hero aggresses against someone else for justified self-protection or for vindication.

Do not score on CAT 3 if the conflict is between the lion and the mouse.

Do not score “death” on TAT 15; do score if a particular person has died—e.g., son, father.

Do not score on TAT 8BM, or 13MF if the assaulted character was shot or otherwise hurt by any character in the picture; also, do not score if the attack against a non-present character is in retaliation for some previous physical attack by that character.

Do not score illness, injury or death of the prone figure on TAT 12M unless the standing character is about to or has physically attacked the prone character. This limitation does not apply to the standing character.

Do not score “spanking” on CAT 10.

Do not score “suicide” on TAT 13MF.

Do score TAT 8BM if prone character shot himself.

Do score TAT 8BM if patient dies, or if characters are trying to murder, or are “experimenting” on prone figure.

6. Themes of Pursuit, Entrapment, and Escape

(a) Included here are themes involving one character pursuing another; also score any mention of one character trapping another, kidnap or unjustified being put in jail or prison which actually occurs.

“(CAT10) The dogs are going to chase the kitty; and the kitty is chasing the mousey”;

“(CAT5) The little bears are going to be taken”;

“He’s escaping; he’s running, the police are chasing him”(score twice)

“He gets trapped in the cave and can’t get out”;

“TAT3GF) Being held for ransom”

(b) Also included are themes of escape. The escape must be from a physical imprisonment or physical danger, or threat thereof (i.e., not symbolic). “Running away” when there is no pursuer is scored only if it is due to anticipation of pain or punishment, where the anticipation is not justified by the story.

“(TAT17BM) He escaped from the tower and left the country”;

“(TAT17BM) There was a fire and he’s escaping out the window (score twice, once for escape and once for fire [PRO2])”;

Note: The category may be scored twice: once for pursuit-entrapment, once for escape.

Note: If “being put in jail” is accompanied by a sense of righteousness or moral justification—i.e., if the story-teller is identifying with the authority who puts the character in jail, or if jail is the justified outcome of criminal activity, score under Identification(7).

“Being put in jail”, “convicted of a crime” is scored under PRO only when the character has not committed a crime, but is put there because of the jealousy, fear, or whim of someone else—i.e., only when the incarceration is not (legally) justified. Political and war imprisonment are scored under PRO(6).

Note: If the character is already in jail or prison at the beginning of the story, score under PRO only if it is made clear that this is not due to criminal activity. If it is due to criminal activity, score under Identification(7).

If it is not clear why he is in prison, do not score.

Note. Score being chased, trapped or caught by police under Identification(7).

Do not score trapping unless one character traps another (e.g., do not score being trapped in a well, unless one character put another there).

Do not score escape if character is being rescued (by hero), where the emphasis is on the rescue rather than on the escape.

Do not score escape if it is only mentioned at the end of the story, or after the examiner's inquiry, unless the need for escape has been implied throughout.

Do not score escape, when the hero is escaping from "society" or "the world" around him [score this under Identification(3)]

Do not score running away from home; this may qualify for scoring under Identification(3).

Do not score on CAT3 if the conflict is between the lion and the mouse. If the mouse is injured, score under PRO(5).

7. Bizarre or Very Unusual Story or Theme

This category depends heavily on the subjective judgment of the scorer, who must determine the limits of bizarreness.

(a) Negative themes that occur very rarely, especially if they have a peculiar twist.

“(TAT8BM) He goes outside and get glass in his heel and the doctor pulls and puts pins in...”;

“(CAT3) He's going to eat the whole house because no one's there”;

“(TAT1) This is a saw ...he sawed his desk in half”.

(b) Also included here are instances of unusual punishment, including unusual self-punishment.

“(TAT8BM) He's thinking what's going to happen to him when he's really old, and like he's done something bad, and he's going to get zapped (chuckle)”;

“(CAT3) He ate a big piece of wood and got all bloated and blew up (This would also be scored under PRO7a)”;

“(TAT17BM) He is tortured”.

Do not score as unusual punishment spanking alone, unless it continues for a very long time.

IDENTIFICATION: SUMMARY OF SCORING CATEGORIES

1. Emulation of Skills
2. Emulation of Characteristics
3. Regulation of Motives or Behavior
4. Self-esteem through Affiliation
5. Work: Delay of Gratification
6. Role Differentiation
7. Moralism

IDENTIFICATION

1. Emulation of Skills

(a) References to one character imitating, taking over, or otherwise acquiring a skill or talent of another character, or trying or wishing to do so.

This is often seen in a younger character emulating an older one.

“(TAT1) He picked up the violin and thought, ‘Maybe if I could be as great as my father’”;

“(TAT1) The little boy is wondering what this is, if he’ll ever find out; he wants to ask his father ... waiting until his father comes home... then he finds out.” (This is a borderline case, but is scored here because the boy acquires his father’s knowledge.)

“(TAT1) He wants to do it because he saw other people do it”;

“(TAT1) He was looking at this violin of his father’s, he really did want to play it....he learned how to play it”;

“(TAT1) He wanted to play ...The man said he would teach him. after a while he got good...”;

“(TAT1) His father taught him how to do it”;

“(TAT1) He wants a teacher to teach him how”;

“(TAT1) He wants to do it like his teacher does”;

Do not score “it is his father’s violin and he is playing with it” (in the sense of fooling around with the violin).

Do not score if learning occurs only at the adult’s insistence; the character must want to learn.

2. Emulation of Characteristics

(a) References to one character imitating, taking over, or otherwise acquiring a characteristic, quality or attitude of another character, or trying to do so.

Examples of “identification with the aggressor” are scored here.

“(TAT17BM) Jack and the Beanstalk ... he wanted to be a giant”;

“(TAT17BM) He gave his Tarzan call [gives imitation] and Tarzan came and ...got the bad guy”;

(b) References to one character being like another, the same as another, or, in an extreme case, merging with another.

“He hoped he could be like his father” (in a general, non-specific way,

“(TAT1) He became Wagner”;

“(TAT17BM) He is trying to be Tarzan”;

“(TAT17BM) He gets the giant’s muscles and now he’s a giant”;

Do not score acquisition of another’s physical property (e.g., money, jewels).

3. Regulation of Motives or Behavior

Keep in mind here that it is the story-teller who has internalized these regulatory mechanisms and is now attributing them to a character in the story.

(a) References to demands, control, influence, guidance, or prohibitions of one character over another, or via societal mores; or the active rebelling against these (not in thought only, and not

by passively doing nothing), including running away from the pressures of family or society.

Include here being caught doing something one shouldn't be doing.

“(TAT1) His mother didn't hear him practicing so he had to start practicing again”;

“(TAT1) He didn't want to take violin lessons ...so he threw it away and smashed it [the violin] all up”;

“He is going to ask his mother if he can go out and she is going to say no”;

“His mother made him take violin lessons, but he didn't want to so he played hookey” (score twice, once for mother controlling him and once for rebellion);

“He asks his Dad if he can do it some other day”;

“He was told to play his violin but he doesn't want to ...but he'll get in trouble”;

“He's a recognized criminal so he won't have it too easy in the world outside” (borderline);

“(TAT1) The people who gave it to him said he had to find out what it was before he could play it”;

“(TAT17BM) The world around him is giving him these problems”.

“(TAT17BM) Someone dared (challenged) him to climb the rope”.

“(TAT5) “There is a cat on the piano. She will chase it off”.

Do not score if child does something that parent doesn't like.

Do not score if one character tries to influence another but is unsuccessful.

Do not score boss firing worker, crook blackmailing, or threatening to blackmail someone else.

(b) Indication of self-criticism, or self-reflection either on the part of the story-teller or of a character in the story.

“It isn't a very good story”;

“The mouse built a trap, but he thought it wasn't very good”;

“He feels guilty for what he did”;

Feeling ashamed, embarrassed, self-conscious

“(TAT1) He’s not very good... he’s flunking it...he’s really mad because he wanted to be a really good one”;

“(TAT17BM) He’s feeling he should have concentrated more”;

“(TAT1) He started to play it, but it sounded funny, it didn’t work.

“He’s feeling that he is stupid”;

“He decided ‘I’m not a very good violin player’”;

“(TAT17BM) He climbed up a vine...gets in trouble...and thinks ‘I shouldn’t have climbed up this time. Next time, maybe, not this time’”;

“(TAT17BM) He looks around in fear, but realizes that he does have the strength to continue”;

“(TAT4) He confessed something that he’d done that wasn’t quite right”

(c) References to justified punishment by parents, guardians, or older family member as a way of controlling or regulating a character’s behavior.

“His father sent him to his room because he was bad”

“His mother gets mad and he gets spanked”;

“He breaks it and his father says ‘you’re never going to get a new thing again...’”;

“(TAT1) The father is furious ...the boy is having to buy another string to replace the old one”;

Note: Score 3(a) only once, even if two different people (e.g., parent and teacher) are applying the same kind of control or pressure.

Note: Control through hypnotism or magic is scored under PRO(3)

Note: Unjustified punishment is scored under PRO(5)

Do not score escape from physical danger, or if the demands are of an ominous nature, or suggest an ominous outcome; instead, score PRO(6)

Do not score if child “has to practice” but it is not stated why this is—e.g., it is not stated that parents, teacher insist he practice.

Do not score child begging parents for something, or hero requesting help, freedom, or one character comforting another.

Do not score being “sorry” about something, unless it is elaborated.

Do not score being “fired” unless this is elaborated (e.g., a discussion of who fired him).

Do not score justified punishment by authority that occurs as the outcome of the story; score under Identification(7) Moralistic outcome.

Do not score ‘being put in jail’ here; if being in jail is justified, score under Identification(7); otherwise, it may be scored under PRO(6)

Do not score ‘spanking’ on CAT 10.

Do not score TAT 4 if the female is trying to prevent the man from leaving, or doing something.

4. Self-Esteem through Affiliation

(a) Success or satisfaction which comes about through association with someone else (not parents, aunts, uncles, grandparents, police), or the expressed need for this kind of affiliation.

“He was happy that he had a friend”;

“He gave his Tarzan call and Tarzan came and got the bad guy (age 6)”

“He realizes that he and his classmate are in exactly the same situation

....they become very close and comfort themselves with the situation”

“He must escape and help save his people. The people are very happy they were very poor and now they are rich (age 5)”;

“He’s lonely and needs to be with a family”;

“He was caught because a trusted friend turned him in” (implied here is the need for a good friend)”

“Has he the courage to master it? Interest must be backed”

“He is adopted and lives with a nice family”

“His brother was killed ...he was the only source of pleasure”;

Note: Adoption by a foster family, if pleasant, is scored here.

(b) Being part of a special group from which some special pleasure or help derives.

“(TAT17BM) He is part of the English navy ... he escapes the French ...he is picked up by an English ship”;

“(TAT17BM) The slave is going down a rope to a fake well. It’s part of the underground railroad to help him escape to Canada”;

“(TAT17BM) The sailor and his crew win the battle in a great defeat”;

“(TAT17BM) The people are citizens of the U.S...they have all had hard lives. Now they are almost at the end of their climb to greatness”;

“(TAT17BM) This man has every desire to be free. He lives in a community of similar people”.

Note: On the Trapeze picture, score if a point is made of how trusting the two characters are; do not score if it is stated that they need to trust each other, or they must trust each other.

Do not score: “friends” giving help, “friends” rescuing, or the need for rescue.

Do not score: Giving help or comfort on TAT10.

Do not score comforting, consoling or feeling better from having been comforted on TAT3,

TAT4 or TAT10, unless this is amplified, e.g.,

“It’s their care for each other that will get them through”

5. Work; Delay of Gratification

(a) References to a character working, or the implication that a character is about to work or has been working, where this is not clearly suggested by the picture. Working at homework, or references to extensive practicing, or studying very hard, are scored here.

“(TAT1) I have to keep on practicing and I have to do my homework from school. This is just fouling up my time” (score once for practicing, once for homework);

“(TAT1) He has a whole bunch of homework to do, and to practice on the violin” (score twice);

“He has to study really hard”;

“He practiced all his life”;

“He is working”;

“(TAT17BM) His muscles are straining and hurting, but he must go on”;

Score for animal practicing, working, if the story teller seems to identify with the animal. This is most likely to occur in children’s stories.

(b) References to delay (e.g., waiting, biding one’s time, planning ahead) in order to attain some future gratification.

A recognition that success will not be immediate.

“He wants to learn it, but not too fast, not in one day”;

“He’s looking at a violin ... later, about four months later he can play one chord on it ...then 12 months later he can play 19 chords, no, he can play beginners ..two years later he can play it very well”;

“(TAT1) He’s looking at it...after a few years he was able to play one”;

“(TAT17BM) First he was planning his rhythm [his moves] or what he’s going to do when he gets up there ...”;

“(TAT1) It’s a car track and he’s been trying to make this for about two weeks”;

“(TAT1) He didn’t know how to play it ... he waited and waited for someone to come and help him ... his next door neighbor [finally] came and taught him”;

The following two examples of ‘waiting’ are borderline cases.

“He is thinking maybe he can play it. And he cares to do it when he grows up”;

“He is going to try to become a violinist in the next years to come”.

Do not score references to exercising (unqualified) or to being tired from athletic endeavors, or working (unqualified) on TAT2.

Do not score references to a character thinking about the fact that he should do some work, but he doesn’t do it.

Do not score “in the future he did it” unless the need for delay and/or work is clearly mentioned.

Do not score being trapped somewhere for a period of time before being freed.

6. Role Differentiation

(a) Mention of characters in specific adult roles, other than mother or father or other relatives (e.g., husband, wife, teacher, sailor, married couple, farmer, priest, soldier, scientist, rock-and-roll player, fiancé, ‘professional’, king, princess, manual laborer, gymnast (but not trapeze-man’).

Also included here are specific historical characters.

Note: Capitalization may help differentiate, e. g., mountain climber (someone climbing mountains) from Mountain Climber (a profession).

Do not score “girlfriend”, “boyfriend”.

Do not score mention of mythical or comic book roles here (e.g., giant, Tarzan).

Do not score a role indicated only by the addition of ____man or ____woman to a noun or adjective (e.g., trapezeman, violinman, strongman) unless this is the commonly accepted term to designate that role (e.g., mailman, businessman, fireman).

Do not score references to ominous roles (e.g., hypnotist); these should be scored under PRO(2)

Do not score “doctor” or “surgeon” on TAT 8BM.

Do not score violinist, musician, music teacher, etc., on TAT 1.

Do not score “farmer” on TAT2.

Do not score “acrobats” or “trapeze artists” on Trapeze picture.

Do not score references to law enforcement officers in action here; score under Identification(7).

Do not score “king” on CAT 1.

Do not score “guards”, “keepers”, “soldiers”, “police” on TAT17BM.

Do not score “husband”, “wife”, “married couple”, “bride” or “prostitute” on TAT 2, TAT4, TAT13MF, or Trapeze picture.

Do not score apostrophized terms—e.g., soldier’s cemetery (TAT15). The term must refer to a character, not to their possessions.

7. Moralism

(a) *Stories that include a moralistic outcome*, in which good conquers evil, wrongdoing is punished (by other than parents), goodness begets goodness, justice triumphs, a (moral) lesson is learned, etc.

“(TAT17BM) Prisoner breaks out ... starts to run ... Then he thought

Sooner or later the police will find him. So he decided it would just be better to go back, so he went back”;

“He escaped from the army ... he was a prisoner [of war] ... they chased him

... He lived to tell everybody”;

“He’s been in prison [but] he’s innocent ... He finally proves that he didn’t do it ... he captures whoever did it”;

“He was in jail for speeding ... he’s escaping, gonna kill himself for escaping”;

“Climbed the rope, saw a lion .. he was scared ‘I’ll never do it again’”;

“(TAT17BM) He is probably going to fall because he is a criminal”;

“He’s thinking about his homework, wondering what happen if he doesn’t get it done ... he’s just sitting there, when he walks home slowly he doesn’t do it. When he gets to school [next day] he won’t have it done and then he’ll have twice as much to do.” (This is a borderline case, but is scored because the implication is that he is worse off for having not done what he was supposed to do.)

“Confessing” re: a crime or moral transgression

(b) Justified punishment administered by teacher, judge, policeman, or other authority figure (excluding parents or guardians).

Included here are stories in which someone breaks (or has broken) the law, is apprehended, and put in jail. Usually, this will occur near the end of the story. If a character is in jail at the beginning of the story, score only if it is explained that he is in jail for having committed a crime.

“(TAT17BM) He robbed a bank ... the police will get him ... he will be in jail”;

Note: If being put in jail, prison, etc., is not justified (e.g., due to jealousy, fear, or whim) score under PRO(6).

Note: Score being chased, trapped or caught by police under Identification(7).

Note: Unjustified punishment, or extremely cruel or unusual punishment is scored under PRO(6) or PRO(7).

Do not score if punishment is given by parents or guardian; instead, score Identification(3).

Do not score “revenge” if this involves criminal or aggressive acts by the person carrying out the revenge.

Do not score “she calls the police”. Score “police” under Identification 6.

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APPENDIX C:
IMPORTANT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL AND OF THE MIDDLE EAST
CONFLICT

B. C. E.

- 2000 Abraham: Beginning of Jewish and Arab Lines
- 1404 Jews Enter Canaan (Israel)
- 1000–925 Kingdom Established, First Temple Built (Jerusalem)

C. E.

- 63 Roman Occupation of Israel
- 70 Jerusalem Temple Destroyed by Romans
- 135 Jewish Nationalism Ends, Jewish Exile
- 613 Mohammed Forms Religion of Islam
- 638 Muslim Conquest of Holy Land, Al-Aqsa Mosque Built
- 691 Dome of the Rock Built in Jerusalem on Temple Mount
- 1897 First Zionist Congress
- 1916 Tripartite (Sykes-Picot) Agreement, Created Borders of the
Modern Middle East
- 1918 British Mandate Over Palestine Begins
- 1922 Britain Creates Transjordan (for Arabs)
- 1929 Arab Riots in Palestine
- 1933–1947 Holocaust; Jewish Flight From Persecution
- 1937 Peel Partition Plan of Palestine
- 1938 British White Papers Restricting Jewish Immigration
- 1947 United Nations Partition Plan
- 1948 Declaration of Jewish State; Arab– Israeli War Begins
- 1949 Jewish Law of Return Enacted; Jordan Cedes West Bank

- 1956 Sinai War
 - 1967 Six Day War
 - 1973 Yom Kippur War
 - 1979 Egyptian–Israeli Peace Agreement (Camp David)
 - 1982 First Lebanon War
 - 1987 Intifada Begins
 - 1991 Gulf War (Alliance of Iraq, Jordan, and PLO Against Israel)
 - 1993-2000 Oslo Accords (Peace Negotiations Between Israel and Palestinians)
 - 1994 Peace Treaty With Jordan
 - 1995 Prime Minister Rabin’s Assassination
 - 2000 Intifada Renewed (“Buttle od Al-Aqsa” or “Oslo War”)
 - 2001 Terrorist Attack on America
 - America and Allies Launch War on Terrorism
 - 2002 U.S War in Afghanistan, Escalation in Israeli–Palestinian Conflict
 - 2003 U.S.-Led War Against Iraq
 - Aqaba Summit on Road Map to Peace in the Middle East
 - 2006 Second Lebanon War
- (Price, 2003)

The Jewish People Before the Formation of the State of Israel

“Zion my pure one, Zion my beloved, Here at a distance, astir you set my soul. Silence my right hand, if I forget you, my beauty” (Dolitski, 1911)

An attempt to describe the history of the Jewish people preceding the establishment of the State of Israel is almost an impossible mission since Jewish history encompasses nearly four thousand years and hundreds of different populations. However, in order to put the researched issue in its context, I summarize some highlights in the development of the Jewish people in the following. For a chronological list of important dates in the history of Israel and of the Middle East conflict, see Appendix C.

Ancient Israel. For the first known two periods, the history of the Jews is mainly that of the Fertile Crescent. It begins among those peoples who occupied the area lying between the Nile river on the one side and the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers on the other. Surrounded by ancient seats of culture in Egypt and Babylonia, by the deserts of Arabia, and by the highlands of Asia Minor, the land of Canaan (later known as Israel, then at various times Judah, Coele-Syria, Judea, Palestine, the Levant, and finally Israel again) was a meeting place of civilizations. The land was traversed by old-established trade routes and possessed important harbors on the Gulf of Akaba and on the Mediterranean coast, the latter exposing it to the influence of other cultures of the Fertile Crescent.

Traditionally, Jews around the world claim their descent mostly from the ancient Israelites (also known as Hebrews), who settled in the land of Israel. The Israelites traced their common lineage to the biblical patriarch Abraham through Isaac and Jacob. Jewish tradition holds that the Israelites were the descendants of Jacob's twelve sons who settled in Egypt. Their direct descendants respectively were divided into twelve tribes, who were enslaved under the

rule of an Egyptian pharaoh, often identified as Ramses II. In the Jewish faith, the emigration of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan (the Exodus), led by the prophet Moses, marks the formation of the Israelites as a people.

Jewish tradition and the Bible (Genesis through Malachi) has it that after forty-one years of wandering in the desert, the Israelites arrived at Canaan and conquered it under the command of Joshua, dividing the land among the twelve tribes. For a period of time, the united twelve tribes were led by a series of rulers known as Judges. After this period, an Israelite monarchy was established under Saul and continued under King David and Solomon. King David conquered Jerusalem (first a Canaanite, then a Jebusite town) and made it his capital. After Solomon's reign the nation split into two kingdoms: Israel, consisting of ten of the tribes (in the north), and Judah, consisting of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (in the south). Israel was conquered by the Assyrian ruler Shalmaneser V in the 8th century B.C.E. There is no commonly accepted historical record of those ten tribes, which are sometimes referred to as the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

The exilic and postexilic periods. The kingdom of Judah was conquered by a Babylonian army in the early 6th century B.C.E. The Judahite elite was exiled to Babylon, but later, at least a part of them returned to their homeland, led by the prophets Ezra and Nehemiah, after the subsequent conquest of Babylonia by the Persians.

Already at this point the extreme fragmentation among the Israelites was apparent, with the formation of political-religious factions, the most important of which would later be called Sadducees and Pharisees.

Hellenistic Judaism. Currents of Judaism influenced by Hellenistic philosophy developed from the 3rd century B.C.E., notably the Jewish Diaspora in Alexandria, culminating in the compilation of the Septuagint.

The Hasmonean Kingdom. After the Persians were defeated by Alexander the Great, his demise, and the division of Alexander's empire among his generals, the Seleucid Kingdom was formed. A deterioration of relations between Hellenized Jews and religious Jews led the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes to impose decrees banning certain Jewish religious rites and traditions. Consequently, the orthodox Jews revolted under the leadership of the Hasmonean family, (also known as the Maccabees). This revolt eventually led to the formation of an independent Jewish kingdom, known as the Hasmonean Dynasty, which lasted from 165 B.C.E. to 63 B.C.E. The Hasmonean Dynasty eventually disintegrated as a result of civil war between the sons of Salome Alexandra, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II. The people, who did not want to be governed by a king but by theocratic clergy, made appeals in this spirit to the Roman authorities. A Roman campaign of conquest and annexation, led by Pompey, soon followed.

Roman rule. Judea under Roman rule was at first an independent Jewish kingdom, but gradually the rule over Judea became less and less Jewish, until it became under the direct rule of Roman and later Christian administration (and renamed the Iudaea Province), which was often callous and brutal in its treatment of its Judean subjects. In 66 C.E., the Judeans began to revolt against the Roman rulers of Judea. The revolt was defeated by the Roman emperors Vespasian and Titus Flavius. In the Siege of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., the Romans destroyed much of the Temple in Jerusalem and, according to some accounts, plundered artifacts from the temple, such as the Menorah. Judeans continued to live in their land in significant numbers, until the 2nd century when Julius Severus ravaged Judea while putting down the Bar Kokhba revolt. Nine

hundred eighty-five villages were destroyed and most of the Jewish population of central Judaea was essentially wiped out, killed, sold into slavery, or forced to flee. Banished from Jerusalem, the Jewish population was now centered in the Galilee. In spite of this, Judaism remained a legal religion throughout the empire

The Diaspora. Many of the Judaeans were sold into slavery while others became citizens of other parts of the Roman Empire. The book of Acts in the New Testament, as well as other Pauline texts, makes frequent reference to the large populations of Hellenized Jews in the cities of the Roman world. These Hellenized Jews were only affected by the Diaspora in its spiritual sense, absorbing the feeling of loss and homelessness which became a cornerstone of the Jewish creed, much supported by persecutions in various parts of the world. The policy towards proselytism and conversion to Judaism, which spread the Jewish religion throughout the Hellenistic civilization, seems to have ended with the wars against the Romans and the following reconstruction of Jewish values for the post-Temple era. Of critical importance to the reshaping of Jewish tradition from the Temple-based religion it was, to the traditions of the Diaspora, was the development of the interpretations of the Torah found in the *Mishnah* and the Talmud (the first major written redactions of the Jewish oral traditions, redacted approximately 220 C.E. and 500 C.E., respectively).

The Land of Israel. In spite of the failure of the Bar Kokhba revolt, Jews remained in the land of Israel in significant numbers. The Jews who stayed in Palestine went through numerous experiences and armed conflicts against consecutive occupiers of the Land. Some of the most famous and important Jewish texts were composed in Israeli cities at this time. The

Jerusalem Talmud, the completion of the Mishnah, and the system of *niqqud* (diacritical signs used to represent Hebrew vowels) are examples.

The Byzantine period. Jews were widespread throughout the Roman Empire, and this was carried on to a lesser extent in the period of Byzantine rule in the central and eastern Mediterranean. The militant and exclusive Christianity and caesaropapism of the Byzantine Empire did not treat Jews well, and the condition and influence of Diaspora Jews in the Empire declined dramatically. It was official Christian policy to convert Jews to Christianity, and the Christian leadership used the official power of Rome in their attempts. In 351 C.E., the Jews revolted against the added pressures of their Governor, one named Gallus. Gallus put down the revolt, and destroyed the major cities in the Galilee where the revolt had started. Tzipori and Lydda (sites of two of the major legal academies) never recovered. Nonetheless, it is in this period that the Nasi in Tiberias, Hillel II, created an official calendar which needed no monthly sightings of the moon. The months were set, and the calendar needed no further authority from Judea. At about the same time, the Jewish academy at Tiberius began to collate the combined Mishnah, explanations, and interpretations developed by generations of scholars who studied after the death of Judah HaNasi. The text was organized according to the order of the Mishnah: each paragraph of Mishnah was followed by a compilation of all of the interpretations, stories, and responses associated with that Mishnah. This text is called the Jerusalem Talmud.

The Jews of Judea received a brief respite from official persecution during the rule of the Emperor Julian the Apostate. Julian's policy was to return the kingdom to Hellenism, and he encouraged the Jews to rebuild Jerusalem. Julian's rule lasted only from 361 to 363, so there was no chance to carry out this promise before Christian rule was restored over the Empire. Beginning in 398 with the consecration of St. John Chrysostom as Patriarch, the Christian

rhetoric against Jews continued to rise with a series of sermons such as "Against the Jews" and "On the Statues, Homily 17" where John preaches against "the Jewish sickness." Such heated language would build a climate of distrust and hate of the large Jewish settlements, such as those in Antioch and Constantinople.

In the beginning of the 5th century, the Emperor Theodosius issued a set of decrees which established official persecution against Jews. Jews were not allowed to own slaves, build new synagogues, hold public office, or try cases between a Jew and a non-Jew. Intermarriage between a Jew and non-Jew was made a capital offense, as was a Christian converting to Judaism. Theodosius, furthermore, did away with the Sanhedrin and abolished the post of Nasi. Under the Emperor Justinian, the authorities restricted the civil rights of Jews and threatened their religious privileges. The emperor also interfered in the internal affairs of the synagogue, and forbade, for instance, the use of the Hebrew language in divine worship. The recalcitrant were menaced with corporal penalties, exile, and loss of property. The Jews at Beroia, not far from Syrtis Major, who resisted the Byzantine general Belisarius in his campaign against the Vandals, were forced to embrace Christianity, and their synagogue was converted into a church.

Justinian and his successors, of course, had concerns outside the province of Judea, and there were insufficient troops to enforce these regulations. As a result, ironically, the 6th century saw a wave of new synagogues built with beautiful mosaic floors. Jews assimilated into their lives the rich art forms of the Byzantine culture. There existed mosaics showing people, animals, menorahs, zodiacs, and Biblical characters. Excellent examples of these synagogue floors have been found at Beit Alpha (which includes the scene of Abraham sacrificing a ram instead of his son Isaac along with a magnificent zodiac), Tiberias, Bet Shean, and Tzipori.

The precarious existence of Jews under Byzantine rule did not long endure, largely for the explosion of the Muslim religion out of the remote Arabian peninsula (where large populations of Jews resided). The Muslim Caliphate ejected the Byzantines from the Holy Land (or the Levant, defined as modern Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria) within a few years of their victory at the Battle of Yarmuk in 636. A testament of the cruelty of the Byzantines towards the Jews can be noted in the great number of Jews who fled remaining Byzantine territories in favor of residence in the Caliphate over the subsequent centuries. Yet, the size of the Jewish community in the Byzantine Empire was not affected by attempts by some emperors (most notably Justinian) to forcibly convert the Jews of Anatolia to Christianity, as these attempts met with very little success.

The Islamic and Crusader periods. As part of the Diaspora, a large number of Jews had taken up residence in the Arabian peninsula, out of the control of the Roman state which, in both its pagan and Christian incarnations, persecuted them greatly. The history of the Jews under Muslim rule was at times as unstable as their history elsewhere: They were ejected from western Arabia shortly after the death of Muhammad in the mid-7th century. Despite such setbacks, the Jews controlled much of the commerce in Palestine and as dhimmi, prospered despite certain restrictions against them. Culturally, the Jews continued to advance, and the niqqud (a system of diacritical signs used to represent vowels or distinguish between alternative pronunciations of letters of the Hebrew alphabet) seems to have been invented in Tiberias in the era of Islamic Caliphate. Preferring the benign discrimination of the Arabs to the outright slaughter frequently suffered under Christian rule, the Jews defended Jerusalem and Haifa against the Crusaders in 1099 during the First Crusade: Failure, in this instance, meant massacre. At the time of the First Crusade, there were Jewish communities throughout the country which included Jerusalem,

Tiberias, Ramleh, Ashkelon, Caesarea, and Gaza. While these population centers were not specifically targeted by the Crusader kingdoms, the Jewish quality of life under Crusader rule was undoubtedly worse and more dangerous.

The Mamluk period

Nachmanides settled in the Old City of Jerusalem in 1267, and since then, there has been a continuous Jewish presence there.

The Ottoman period. Jews lived in the geographic area of Asia Minor (modern Turkey, but more geographically, either Anatolia or Asia Minor) for more than 2,400 years. The initial prosperity in Hellenistic times faded under Christian Byzantine rule, but recovered somewhat under the rule of the various Muslim governments which displaced and seceded the rule from Constantinople. For much of the Ottoman period, Turkey was a safe haven for Jews fleeing persecution, and it continues to have a small Jewish population today. At the time of the Battle of Yarmuk when the Levant passed under Muslim Rule, thirty Jewish communities existed in Haifa, Shechem, Hebron, Ramleh, Gaza, Jerusalem, and many in the north. Safed became a spiritual center for the Jews, and the Shulchan Aruch was compiled there, as well as many kabbalistic texts. The first Hebrew printing press and the first printing in Western Asia began in 1577.

Spain, North Africa, and the Middle East. During the Middle Ages, Jews were generally better treated by Islamic rulers than Christian ones. Despite second-class citizenship, Jews played prominent roles in Muslim courts and experienced a Golden Age in the Moorish Spain about 900-1100, though the situation deteriorated after that time. Riots resulting in the deaths of Jews occurred in North Africa throughout the centuries and especially in Morocco, Libya, and Algeria, where eventually Jews were forced to live in ghettos. Decrees ordering the

destruction of synagogues were enacted in the Middle Ages in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen. Jews were also forced to convert to Islam or face death in some parts of Yemen, Morocco, and Baghdad at certain times. The situation whereby Jews both enjoyed cultural and economic prosperity at times but were widely persecuted at other times was summarized by G. E. Von Grunebaum (1971):

It would not be difficult to put together the names of a very sizeable number of Jewish subjects or citizens of the Islamic area who have attained to high rank, to power, to great financial influence, to significant and recognized intellectual attainment; and the same could be done for Christians. But it would again not be difficult to compile a lengthy list of persecutions, arbitrary confiscations, attempted forced conversions, or pogroms.

Europe. Jewish populations had existed in Europe, especially in the area of the former Roman Empire, from very early times, with converts to Judaism joined by traders and later by members of the exodus. There are records of Jewish communities in France and Germany from the 4th century and substantial Jewish communities in Spain even earlier. By and large, Jews were heavily persecuted in Christian Europe. Since they were the only people allowed to lend money for interest (forbidden to Catholics by the church), some Jews became prominent moneylenders. Christian rulers gradually saw the advantage of having a class of people like the Jews who could supply capital for their use without being liable to excommunication, and the money trade of western Europe by this means fell into the hands of the Jews. However, in almost every instance where large amounts were acquired by Jews through banking transactions, the property thus acquired fell either during their life or upon their death into the hands of the king. Jews thus became imperial *servi camerae*, the property of the King, who might present them and their possessions to princes or cities. Jews were frequently massacred and exiled from various

European countries. The persecution hit its first peak during the Crusades. In the First Crusade (1096), flourishing communities on the Rhine and the Danube were utterly destroyed. In the Second Crusade (1147), the Jews in France were subject to frequent massacres. The Jews were also subjected to attacks by the Shepherds' Crusades of 1251 and 1320. The Crusades were followed by expulsions, including, in 1290, the banishing of all English Jews; in 1396, 100,000 Jews were expelled from France; and, in 1421, thousands were expelled from Austria. Many of the expelled Jews fled to Poland. The worst of the expulsions occurred following the *reconquista* of Andalus, as the Moorish or Arab Islamic government of Spain was known. With the ejection of the last Muslim rulers from Grenada in 1492, the Spanish Inquisition followed, and the entire Spanish population of around 200,000 Sephardic Jews was expelled. This was followed by expulsions in 1493 in Sicily (37,000 Jews) and Portugal in 1496. The expelled Spanish Jews fled mainly to the Ottoman Empire, Holland, and North Africa, others migrating to Southern Europe and the Middle East. In the 17th century, almost no Jews lived in Western Europe. The relatively tolerant Poland had the largest Jewish population in Europe, but the calm situation for the Jews there ended when Polish and Lithuanian Jews were slaughtered in the hundreds of thousands by the Cossacks during the Chmielnicki uprising (1648) and by the Swedish wars (1655). Driven by these and other persecutions, Jews moved back to Western Europe in the 17th century. The last ban on Jews (by the English) was revoked in 1654, but periodic expulsions from individual cities still occurred, and Jews were often restricted from land ownership or forced to live in ghettos.

The European Enlightenment and the Haskalah. From 1700 to the 1800s, during the period of the European Renaissance and Enlightenment, significant changes were happening within the Jewish community. The *Haskalah* movement, an Enlightenment movement among European Jews, paralleled the wider Enlightenment, as Jews began in the 1700s to campaign for

emancipation from restrictive laws and integration into the wider European society. Secular and scientific education was added to the traditional religious instruction received by students, and interest in a national Jewish identity, including a revival in the study of Jewish history and Hebrew, started to grow. Haskalah gave birth to the Reform and Conservative movements and planted the seeds of Zionism, while at the same time encouraging cultural assimilation into the countries in which Jews resided. At around the same time, another movement was born, one preaching almost the opposite of Haskalah, Hasidic Judaism. Hasidic Judaism began in the 1700s by Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov and quickly gained a following with its more exuberant, mystical approach to religion. These two movements, and the traditional orthodox approach to Judaism from which they sprung, formed the basis for the modern divisions within Jewish observance.

At the same time, the outside world was changing, and debates began over the potential emancipation of the Jews (granting them equal rights). The first country to do so was France, during the French Revolution in 1789. Even so, Jews were expected to assimilate and not to continue their traditions. This ambivalence is demonstrated in the famous speech of Clermont-Tonnerre before the National Assembly in 1789:

We must refuse everything to the Jews as a nation and accord everything to Jews as individuals. We must withdraw recognition from their judges; they should only have our judges. We must refuse legal protection to the maintenance of the so-called laws of their Judaic organization; they should not be allowed to form in the state either a political body or an order. They must be citizens individually. But, some will say to me, they do not want to be citizens. Well then! If they do not want to be citizens, they should say so, and then, we should banish them. It is repugnant to have in the state an association of non-citizens, and a nation within the nation.

The 1800s. Although persecution still existed, emancipation spread throughout Europe in the 1800s. Napoleon invited the Jews to leave the Jewish ghettos in Europe and seek refuge in the newly-created tolerant political regimes that offered equality under Napoleonic Law. By 1871, with Germany's emancipation of the Jews, every European country except Russia had emancipated its Jews. Despite increasing integration of the Jews with secular society, a new form of anti-Semitism emerged, based on the ideas of race and nationhood, rather than the religious hatred of the Middle Ages. This form of anti-Semitism held that Jews were a separate and inferior race from the Aryan people of Western Europe, and led to the emergence of political parties in France, Germany, and Austria-Hungary that campaigned on a platform of rolling back emancipation. This form of anti-Semitism emerged frequently in European culture, most famously in the Dreyfus Trial in France. These persecutions, along with state-sponsored pogroms in Russia in the late 1800s, led a number of Jews to believe that they would only be safe in their own nation. At the same time, Jewish migration to the United States created a new community in a large part freed of the restrictions of Europe. Over two million Jews arrived in the United States between 1890 and 1924, mostly from Russia and Eastern Europe.

APPENDIX D:
CONSENT LETTER

APPENDIX E:
TRANSLATED TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE INTERVIEWS

Dalia Perez

K: So let's start from... how did you get involved with the conflict? On an individual level? As a scholar... whatever...

D: On an individual level, everyone in Israel is involved in the conflict. It's something that preoccupies us.... As a professional, where should I start ... I think that ever since high school, as far as I can remember, I've been preoccupied with the conflict...

K: Do you come from a home that was involved....?

D: Yes, at home we were very conscious of the... Professionally, I began working with Palestinian friends, I think as early as my university days in Tel Aviv, then two years later when I was at the Mandel school... I was very involved with Palestinian Israelis or Israeli Palestinians.

K: OK

D: We began processing the conflict together, but the biggest change was that I didn't have to think about it alone, as an Israeli. It was Palestinians and Israelis together, the work was, well not exactly work but joint thinking... and then when I left the Mandel School, but maybe even before that, when I joined the teaching staff of the school...

K: What year was that?

D: Let's see, from 1998-2000 I was at Mandel and then in 2000, 2001 the academic year 2000/2001 that began in September 2000 and continued into 2001, I had already joined... that was my first year at the School, as a recognized school, officially recognized by the Ministry of Education, because two years before it had been only an experimental school in [] Jerusalem. In 2000 it was officially recognized

and three classes moved to an independent building. I wasn't at the school yet then, the first principal was there... he was there that entire first year and I joined, I think in April or whereabouts...

K: Was he Israeli?

D: Yes

K: OK

D: And then I joined the teaching staff and a year later, I formally began as principal. I worked for a year as the only principal ... so I was on my own for a year and clearly, it was the wrong thing to do. It wasn't good, it wasn't right, that's the word... it just wasn't right. So the following year I took in a co-principal and since then we've worked together....

K: OK

D: And he went along with me...

K: Is he still there?

D: Yes, definitely

K: Now, as far as the Israelis, what kind of family... does anything characterize the families that send their children to the school?

D: Yes, there was.... Oh, and by the way, surveys are available, if you're interested

K: Very interested

D: And statistics, because I can't just pull the numbers out of my sleeve... but Zvi Beckerman was someone who did deal with the numbers....

K: OK

D: Zvi Beckerman, from the Hebrew University. They're available... his surveys... mainly he did qualitative research, but he also dealt with numbers. So you can find all the... Anyway, he checked out the profile of the families... but I can tell you that in my opinion the families who joined us in the beginning came from the middle and upper classes, as we define them... they're educated, more open... and as years passed, the school became more heterogeneous. It just got much bigger... and was promoted by word of mouth. The families are very committed.... Yes, the families were very...

K: Ideologically committed?

D: ... ideologically committed, though Zvi Beckerman, in his research, does point out to differences between Jews and Arabs in their motives for joining the school. A difference in emphasis mainly, because everyone is committed ideologically, but whereas the ideological motive is first place with the Jews, for the Arabs what takes precedence is the fact that they are looking for a school that is better.

K: The quality of the educational program?

D: The quality of the studies. It's important for the Jews too, but I think that when you compare...

K: OK

D: You have to make room for...

K: For sure

D: And as far as numbers, well, I wouldn't want to...

K: OK

D: That's his forte... The school has just become better and better, even though it's more heterogeneous, so the choice is really now a choice of this specific school. For both Jews and Arabs – it's just a good school. Naturally, anyone who joins the school is in ideological agreement, because the ideology is so much a part of the everyday, that you can't just say, well... it's a good school.

K: Yes

D: A Jewish person who joins the school is well aware that we approach history differently, that we learn everything in both Hebrew and Arabic... everything is different... the holidays are different... everything... so someone doesn't just join because.... [the school is good]

K: Yes

D: It [the ideology] is so much a part of the daily routine.... And the afternoon activities....

K: Did you ever have a problem with, I mean with the Jews, about the curriculum or with the...

D: You mean the parents

K: Yes

D: You mean as far as bi - [national/ bi-lingual] We had a problem, or actually not a problem, more like a challenge, and the parents did indeed have what to say. For example, one of the things that amazed us, and still poses a challenge, is the level of Arabic amongst the Jewish pupils. The Jewish parents very much wanted their children to attain a high level of Arabic fluency. The process took much longer than we thought at first. We thought the children would become bi-lingual as soon as we created a bi-lingual environment. But it's not that simple. As far as the Arab children, it's easier to say that they become bi-lingual quite quickly. As far as the Jewish children, it's a much bigger challenge. The Arab language is much more difficult, and it's actually almost two languages – literary and spoken, which is different than

with Hebrew. Also, the Arab children live in a country where Hebrew is spoken, and the Jewish children don't [live in a country where Arab is spoken]. They only hear Arabic and school and that's it... they're not exposed...

So, I would say that there is always a problem with the extent of social change you can expect in a context that... with a new social context that has other patterns you're trying to implement.... and the school exists within a Hebrew-speaking Israeli context. Hebrew is very dominant and it's exposure is high... so there are many ways in which Arabic poses much more of a challenge than does Hebrew... So, while the desire is for the Jewish children to learn Arabic quickly, it's really a process that takes years. I think that now, we're much more satisfied that we were 8 years ago when we began, because we learned from experience that it's not enough for the Arab teacher and the Jewish teacher to each speak their own language in the class they teach; that that's not enough for them to absorb both languages equally, and we have to intervene much more intensely.... mainly with Arabic. We have to offer additional activities so that the Jewish children will learn Arab on a level that resembles that of the Arab children. For example, one thing we've done in recent years is to offer classes in spoken Arabic, which we didn't have before. That's not something they have in Arab schools – classes in spoken Arabic – because they learn the spoken language at home, in their every day routines, in getting by daily.... They don't have to learn it in school as a subject of study. And we had thought that if they studied literary Arabic in class with the teacher, they'd speak the language in the yard with their friends and it would sink in. But experience taught us that we must give classes in spoken Arabic....

So, that's as far as what you asked about.... and it was a topic that was very important for the parents, because they really wanted their children to achieve competency in both languages.

K: Is the Jewish hegemony outside the school that influences language, and language abilities, also apparent in other areas in the school?

D: Well...

K: Or let me put it another way, do you think the Arab population feels it from other directions, so that for example, you try to be very egalitarian about the holidays or about teaching an alternate view of history, let's say, but nevertheless, the reality you are creating is still a kind of bubble, very welcome, but nevertheless existing within a reality that is very different. Does this external reality manage to infiltrate in any way?

D: Actually, what we say is that the school is a place that is creating something very different, on one hand. On the other hand, it still exists in reality, so, to use a metaphor that someone once used, there are windows that open out and also open inwards...

Naturally, we don't exist in a vacuum.... So the language and the dominance of Hebrew.... Let me say again that the society and the Hebrew speaking environment are very dominant and of course the influence is felt... The holidays... I can't actually say that the Ar.... I don't really know what to say about your feeling that.... do the Arabs feel.... are the Arabs influenced by what's happening....

K: As a result of inequalities existing outside?

D: Well...

K: Or do you feel that you have to take corrective action all the time to equalize....

D: Well actually, the whole school is based on discrimination, or, well... I don't know if that's the right word to use, but the school is based on preserving equality; and that it one of its strongest points. It's apparent in the two principals, two types of teachers, even all the afternoon activities... and we really, really try to... we're actually creating something different from what exists outside, so we have our structure, and our content, which is actually quite different from what's taking place elsewhere. So a priori, our structure is oriented towards... and it's not that we have to do something in particular... from

the outset, we have established our foundations to preserve equality.... we must always be on the lookout, to consider our actions. Say, for example that we're celebrating, let's say a national holiday or the like. We have very explicit rules, we even have designated space that we provide for notice boards, for memorial plaques, or to commemorate an event or a holiday or a special day. We have the boards and we know that the space is available for a certain Jewish or Israeli holiday. And when an Arab, Moslem, Palestinian, Christian holiday comes along, depending on its character, it will be devoted similar space, so we've decided on that in advance... We really have had to think out about lots of details. For example, our networking lists.... Our lists look different than similar lists. They're written in two languages... they're... we're very careful to balance the messages we convey... in design, in appearance, in content, because we believe that the structure makes an impact. The structure is connected to the division of power in the school and it influences what happens at the school and what kind of message the school is trying to convey; the school's ambience... we want the children's experience to be egalitarian.

K: Yes

D: Clearly, to accomplish this we have to... you called it a project... we view it as an attempt to create a different kind of framework. There are no other schools that... I'm talking about Jewish-Arab schools. We're not the only one... I don't know if you know... we're part of a network and there is also the Neve Shalom School... so let's say there are about 5 schools like this one.... There's El-Ad and there's....

K: Did you ever encounter hostile forces on the outside?

D: Yes

K: How frequently? Do you have any idea how often it happens, or does it usually take place during periods that are politically problematical on a security level....

D: Well, it's not so much a part of our every day anymore, but for example, when we had to, when we were about to move to our new building in..... there were some who tried to prevent us from moving in and we had to gather momentum to resist...and to move the school into another Jewish neighborhood. At that time there were several hostile parties who tried to inflame the neighborhood where we were moving, but they weren't really successful, so that wasn't really an influence. There are also a few extremists. Here and there, we hear about them, but I must admit that we hear more positive than negative reactions.... definitely. The reactions are very.... well, the most dominant are along the line of appreciation, what a "pearl", or "wow" and how are you doing something like this.... I wouldn't send my children, but still.... hats off to you, that is kind of what we hear....

K: That sounds a whole lot better...

D: Yes, it goes something like well, I wouldn't....but still it admits that it's legitimate. And no, I wouldn't expect everyone to want to send their child to a bi-national school. I don't even think we should be the most common model in Israel, because it doesn't match the numbers.... After all, we have only a small percentage of Arabs in the cities; which means that it needn't be a model, it only should be a legitimate option in Israeli society.

K: And you're optimistic about the possibility?

D: I think that it's much better than at first. At first, we definitely had to fight to be accepted. We had to fight to open more schools, everything was... but I think that since the schools exist, they've become an alternative; not yet with sufficient recognition, but still – in Jerusalem, there's a school that's quite well known... almost 500 children... a big school...

K: Yes

D: And it's a school that stands out. It has a beautiful new building that's very much in evidence in the physical landscape. So I think that the mere fact that it's obvious to so many people as a legitimate alternative... as far as I'm concerned that's a victory... Our ambitions are to start... more or less within ten years.... something like 10 such schools in Israel.

K: OK

D: But I'm not sure it'll happen. And I'm not sure it's only due to social/nationalistic reasons.... Sure, there are some, but there are also financial reasons. It's very expensive and the government only gives support comparable to a regular school, but our expenses are double. We actually have double of everything.... Curriculum, for example....on which we spend an awful lot... But for that, at least, we receive one-time donations... and we do have a broad base of But still, financially it's very hard, and the situation now... and I don't know how we'll overcome the catch... the norm.... of opening more classes....

K: This desire [of theirs, to open more classes] really provokes envy...

D: Yes, it's a real problem. It's very hard to collect money for yet another year and another year, let alone for a new school....

K: Do you have any desires that regular schools will... do you have contact with... do you hope they'll say, OK, to learn a dualistic version of history, may be no more than wishful thinking, but do wish they'd change anything about their regular program... their regular history program...

D: Yes, I think we're not the only ones trying to achieve this. There are Dan Baron and others who are doing a lot to...

K: And where does this stand?

D: I don't know, after all, it depends on the Ministry of Education. I don't think that there's anyone at the moment whose is intervening. But, for example, the previous Minister of Education declared that she gives her support and she did, indeed support the schools and also the mention of the Naqba, and not only didn't she have a problem with it, she believed that it was important, and I think you can find statements she made on the issue....

K: I remember it...

D: The current minister.... Well, she [the former] wasn't in office enough time to make a dramatic difference in the system... and, look here, the Israeli educational system has many additional challenges... so she did what she could, but I don't think she managed to.... But I don't really know that much about the current minister... I don't know if it's on his agenda or what... I have no idea

K: Do you have ties with other, normative schools?

D: Yes, we have this project with another school, yes...

K: And how does that work?

D: Just fine. With the "Leyada" school in Jerusalem and... you know Jerusalem?

K: No, I'm from Haifa

D: We have a project with the "Leyada" School in Jerusalem where we have shared programs and this includes the study of history

K: Really?

D: Yes, well it's not actually a history study program, but indirectly... for example, one year we had a project "My Jerusalem" and it includes historic aspects and the Jewish and Arab children worked together...

K: What grades?

D: Seventh and eighth, I think

K: Junior hi

D: Yes, Junior hi, and the program My Jerusalem included working in pairs, I think... each two children worked on a different site in Jerusalem, including tours, mutual visits....so, in general, we have programs for many years with the "Leyada" School. Before that they had good connections with some school in Nazareth, so they were really involved in lots of collaborations.

There are programs, there are.... You can find them.... but it's still a marginal thing...

So with "Leyada" and with the Keshet School we had joint programs. We had joint programs with elementary schools; we also had with the neighboring schools that we could visit on foot... Keshet School is a neighbor of ours, and also has a similar world view. It has religious and secular pupils, so their pluralistic approach is similar to ours. We had a joint music program with them, and we also have contact with many other schools in Israel

K: And you feel that the kids, the generation you're raising, is there something that they're taking with them from what you give them that will lead them to leadership positions?.... maybe it's just my own wishful thinking but.... nevertheless, they really do go through quite a path...

D: Yes, yes, of course... we always say that they will be the leaders of the future, that they have a different world view

K: Yes

D: That their world view will be more.... Really, our children have to think about options that don't even exist yet...

K: True, their baseline, their foundation... they gain the kind of abilities, tolerance and a much broader sense of understanding, and they've managed to sidestep all the dirt, you know what I mean, the insensitivity....

D: Yes, that is exactly our hope.... Though I can't yet say... well you know our oldest pupils are still in the tenth grade

K: OK

D: So I can't yet say look, here's what our graduates are... because we don't yet have any graduates.... so you'll have to leave that for future research... about what our graduates are doing, where they go... and really, everyone asks me, what about your graduates, what do they do when they go to the army? But I don't yet have the answers to that, because they haven't yet been there, they're still young, but I believe in them... I believe that it's not exactly something you can precisely put your finger on... They were, or still are, part of an everyday reality that is different; a daily reality that poses an alternative... and for them, I think that that's exactly what will...this other type of reality, of social connections between Jews and Arabs, and of equality between Jews and Arabs. That's what's so different for them.... it's the opposite of what is.... for our children....

I really put my bets on it, I really hope that...I'm sure that they will, sure that they'll assume leadership positions. I don't know if they will be "the leaders".... But I have no doubt that they, or at least some of them, will attain positions of leadership and social change. They come from a place of social change. They're in a place that not only learns differently, does things differently; it also educates them to a

critical perspective of reality. And it makes no difference whether it's the reality of equality between Jews and Arabs, or merely a different kind of critical observation; a glance that seeks to improve, to change.... so I think that from this position, they'll reach...

K: So, in the broadest sense, you're optimistic?

D: Am I optimistic?

K: Yes

D: About what's happening? I haven't been in Israel for a year so....

K: So maybe you're more optimistic....

D: (Laughing) I do get the news here... I'm not totally, not...

K: Is it at all possible to do the work you're doing without being optimistic?

D: I'm very optimistic. When I'm at the school, I'm very optimistic. I think that it's one of the important places, in my opinion, in society. As far as I'm concerned, it's certainly one of the places that inspires hope, because, indeed, in a surrounding reality that is so harsh, suddenly you see an alternative... an authentic one; one that really works, that works day in and day out.

And more than that it's not only.... What I mean is that the children are a very important part of it, maybe the main part of... but there is also a huge staff of teachers, fifty or so teachers who live together, who plan together, during difficult times. They plan the lessons, work on the lessons, day after day.... There's a large community of parents... just think about it... 500 kids... and all their parents and grandparents.... So there are circles and more circles that grow outwards... and I can see that all the parties involved, go through some kind of process of change. So that's what I mean when I say there is an alternative.... I see it with my own eyes, even on the most difficult days.... So as far as I'm concerned,

I'm very optimistic; that things are possible, yes, it makes me optimistic. In the broadest sense, the macro... of the peace process? I'm really more involved with the daily interactions between Jews and Arabs in Israel....

K: OK

D: But naturally, that it is connected... with the conflict.... definitely. It's present at all times, there is the division between Palestinians and Israelis on the West Bank, and true, they want to be accepted into Israeli society, they really want to be part of it... and they want the opportunities Israeli society offers... so that's where we come in with our work and our work is very relevant. And the conflict in general? I think it's relevant in that we're creating some kind of baseline from which it's possible to implement a different kind of relationship.... It's kind of a grassroots thing.... It creates a model for different relationships, and a model for how to handle things together in difficult times. But in the conflict, the narratives are different.

K: You're subject to research... before you mentioned Zvi Beckerman, do you...

D: There are others

K: OK

D.... we plowing ahead... and we communicate with many people who want to come, and take an interest in our work on various levels; in our situation with our neighbors or our school as compared to... and some... but besides Zvi and someone else who worked with us, Haim Damar – an expert in Arabic who investigates what's happening with Arabic in the schools in general. He worked with our staff and he introduced us to information that helped us with the challenge I mentioned before. His work helped us focus deeply on Arabic and to reach constructive conclusions about our programs...

Besides these two important researchers, I can't for the moment, remember anything else that was large scale...

K: Is the Ministry of Education involved?

D: Not exactly.... I'm not sure, well, the Ministry doesn't exactly do research, but they do... assess the children... it's an ongoing thing.

K: Well, tell me then, how do you handle hostile reactions or attempts to prevent your...

D: It depends; we take each situation as it comes. It depends on the reactions... so for example, I mentioned before about when we moved... and did I tell you what we did? What we did was simply to make connections in the neighborhood, to create a kind of partnership, to... make coalitions... and our estimation at that time was that it wasn't an internal party in the neighborhood, but an outside source, and we were right. It was indeed external... On the other hand, there was a group... and they tried to inflame the neighborhood... and, by the way, this led to legal proceedings. There was the Israel Center for Pluralism, or I think they now call themselves the Center for Jewish Pluralism... and it involved all kinds of racist manifestations... the materials they distributed... but we found that it was mainly marginal, so what we did was to, among other things.... Well, you know that incitement can only work to a certain extent, but it really depends on what you do to counter it. So we set to work in the way we know best, just to make connections, to meet, to get acquainted... and to tell you the truth, we have excellent relationships.

K: When you have situations like this, on various levels – the children, the families, or on structural levels – do you all work together, or is it more you and your colleague, at the higher echelons, who have to take action?

D: It depends, what do you mean by the level of the families?

K: Have you ever, for example, encountered a situation where someone tried to prevent one family from...

D: No, no

K: Never had anything like that?

D: No

K: OK

D: But in the situation I described for you, just before we moved into the new building, we held lots of meetings. We met in the local community center, with people considered the community leaders. Then, after we moved in, the teachers were also very involved, and they organized lots of events with the joint participation of the school and the neighborhood. This was beyond merely fighting against something; it was part of our vision, of integrating into the place where we are. But, before we moved, we had lots of things to consider, about what to do – and that feel mostly to me and my colleague, and of course, people from the organization. We have an organization that accompanies us "Yad B'yad".

K: OK

D: So the people from the organization, they also met with other people... and, hum... let's see... I think that about covers it....

K: Of all the branches, you are the largest, are you not?

D: From all the schools, we are the largest.

K: Well, OK, these are actually more informative kind of questions....

D: That's OK

K: Where will be the next school? Has it gotten any thought?

D: An attempt was made in Haifa

K: Yes, that's what I'm looking for.... and where does the attempt stand? Is it called for?

D: Yes, it is called for, and I think that actually there was the desire to set up a school also in Be'er Sheva, and it came to a halt in the same year... about two years ago. And then, maybe two or three years... and then the war started in 2006 and I think that the Mayor took it off his agenda... there seemed to be a lot of response to it, though I'm not sure of all the details.... because it's the organization that is really involved in making the contacts and leading the move to establish a new school....

K: Yes

D: The organization, Yad B'yad. We, the principals of the schools, are only involved to the extent that we invite the people to visit our schools, or we can go talk to people, but that's only after there's a group, like the group that started each of our schools. So we started to get involved when they set up a group in Be'er Sheva and Kfar Karah and started to work; a group of Jewish and Arab parents, who started to work, and in Kfar Karah they worked very hard... they worked for about two years, even before they connected with Yad B'yad. They wanted to set up an ideological school.

I'm not sure what stage it reached in Haifa... In Be'er Sheva the intentions were there....

They wanted a joint school for Be'er Sheva and Kfar Karah... but then I think the war came, and in Haifa, with all the bombings... well, it just wasn't the right time....

K: At times like that do you have drop outs?

D: No, not at all. At school, take for example now, with the war in Gaza... and of course in Jerusalem, unfortunately, something is always happening... terrorists... so... this year...

K: Does it lead to frustrations?

D: For sure, it's the eternal battle with our vulnerabilities.... On the other hand....there's this optimism, because on a day that something happens...

K: What do you actually do on a day like that, when something happens? Are you in contact with the outside? Do you respond in any way?

D: Well, you must remember that first of all, we're a school, and we must... there is a difference in the level of exposure that different children can digest... A 3 year old child... and yes, we have children of 3 and 4 in our school... is not aware of what's happening, and we don't force the school's ideology on him/her. But our approach when something happens is to... well, we don't sweep anything under the rug, but, on the other hand, we don't try to force the children... if it doesn't interest them, or if they're not the right age... you have to keep the right proportions... just like in other schools... when something traumatic or dramatic happens, something that captures the attention, something in the news... something that the children have heard about... then, naturally, we talk about it in school.... The difference is that with us, the children are exposed to much wider sources, not only...

K: Channel 2

D: Exactly. They may have heard El Dj'azeera or other channels and they may also have heard things at home. Or maybe they have relatives who have been hurt or have been in places where people have been hurt. You know, once there was an attack right under our noses, in the next street... so naturally we talk about it...but we talk about it in the way we tend to talk about things.... from the perspective of... even before the perspective, we have this shared perception that objects to violence as the solution to conflicts. And this is something that we all share, so you won't find us happy about a, let's say, a

bombing in Gaza or about a terrorist attack, or, let's say... we feel quite together in this, the children, the staff, all of us.... very...

K: Concerned

D: Yes, precisely, very concerned; and very together. I'll give you a short example from Gaza, because then I've got to go; during the war in Gaza, well, I wasn't there but I did get a report on what was going on... and the sixth grade decided to do something... and actually there were two things.... one was a letter written by the third grade to Olmert, asking him to stop the... and to try to find other ways....

K: And they sent it?

D: They sent it and they got a very nice answer from him

K: Really?

D: Yes, really. And his wife was here at the school too... It was very, very.... Besides, Olmert was the mayor of Jerusalem when the school was approved and he gave the approval for the school.

K: OK

D: So, he's very familiar with the school and has...how should I put it.... he can... to his credit I'd say that.... and Aliza Olmert was at the school and was very, well, very supportive, she expressed her support... and he answered the letter. He wrote a few sentences about how he appreciates the letter and how he'd also like to solve the problem in other ways..... and it much more complex.....[unclear] and they're trying to do something and he hopes that we can learn from it and that they would reach a solution quickly... something to that effect....

K: OK

D: And the sixth grade wrote a letter to all the school's graduates that they had decided to collect contributions for the children of Gaza and for the children in the shelters in Shderot. That's what they decided to do. And there was a general enlistment of the entire parent's committee, and they actually sent shipments of equipment... mainly to Gaza, because the children there needed blankets, but also toys and games for the children in Shderot.

So these actions taken, helped the school cope with the events of the day, and at least try to see it from all sides, and to come up with a new, different kind of statement.

K: I can see that you're in a rush, so I'd just like to conclude with one sentence and tell me if you agree with me. Before I came here, I was thinking mainly in psychological terms. I thought about how people who attend such a school and are ideologically committed to such an idea, if I try to understand it in terms of defense mechanisms, are people who don't want to sweep things under the rug. It's people who less tend to use the "lower" defenses like repression and projection or the Arab aggression... and I'm not... well, somehow it's people who've found sublimational ways to cope with such a conflictual situation. Do you agree that, in general, people from this "family", people from all your branches, tend to use the "higher" defenses, more adaptive, more tolerant, less argumentative, less...

D: I can't use your terms, but I can tell you, and translate it into any terms you like, that the people in this school, including the staff... are all courageous people who want to confront the most difficult things. Not seeing is really much easier. It's much easier to see things in black and white. It's much more complex to see the other side and his pains and his justice. So undoubtedly, the way they cope is much more complex, less easy, there's no question that it's much easier always to see myself as right and it's harder to begin to try and build something quite different. So in that sense, I think we're talking the same language, you and I; maybe with different concepts, but similar nonetheless. I do think that here,

copied and observing, includes reality, in all its different shades.... a perspective that takes into account all aspects.... everything that we are.... a much more objective view of the reality that we must cope with

Dana Golan

Keren: Let's start off by you telling me how you got involved with the whole issue of the conflict.

Interviewee: When I was in.... after Hebron, I was in for another seven months, and then I left the army and finished my term of service. I had a road accident, with trauma and the whole works. The army seemed like another world. I came from a home... my parents were in the Labor party and my sister too; a home that was seemingly very open. I didn't grow up on hatred, but somehow I did grow up on fear like a lot of Israelis; you become afraid of the other side.

Keren: Did you know any Palestinians before your army service?

Interviewee: No. Remember the terrorist attack on Dizengoff Center, when three girls were killed? One of them was the sister of a friend and her girlfriends. I knew all three of them and it was close to where I live. So yes, I would say I grew up with fear.

Keren: Where did you grow up?

Interviewee: Moshav Heirut.

Keren: OK

Interviewee: In the Tel Mond area. So then I started studying journalism; after the army and after a trip to India. In India, I started to take an interest in Buddhism, and started to adopt a non-labeling approach to myself and to other people. I try to see other people without a label. I also had lots of questions about myself and what it means to be a Jew and so on and so on, and it seems that when you take off the labels, you discover a whole new world; you suddenly realize how much your world has expanded. And how much you've been influenced. I started to explore the whole issue of the Jewish victim and

how we've been influenced by the Holocaust; I really started to dig; deeper and deeper. When I started studying journalism, I studied with Gideon and with another girl named Yael Gewirtz, who was a reporter for Yedioth Aharonoth for many years. I was taking three journalism courses and I was absorbing a great deal of information; not only about the conflict, but in general, for example – at a certain time the instructions at Yedioth Aharonoth were not to write anything against the attacks on the Supreme Court. Here you hear something and there you hear something, and little by little, your eyes begin to open. All of a sudden, I realized just how much we don't know! The minute I learned this, and one course with Gideon was media criticism, I began to consume the media in a much more critical way. I began to hear the news with a critical ear, and I really understood how much we don't know. It was like a puzzle whose pieces were starting to connect with my own personal investigation of the Jewish victim and the sense of Jewish victimhood, and what the media doesn't tell us; as if we're behind some kind of barriers; we have these blocks – the things we don't recognize and don't know. And the whole time I had this feeling that "Hebron was here....".

Keren: Your army service...

Interviewee: My army service. I was an officer. I wanted to be an officer to escape Hebron, I couldn't stand it there any more.

Keren: Did you know any Palestinians during your service in Hebron?

Interviewee: None.

Keren: Not a one?

Interviewee: Not one. I would only see them and.... my only encounter with them was if I patrolled the Machpelah Cave, or patrolled Hebron... that was the only encounter I had with people, and to tell you the truth, the only ones I looked at were the elderly. My heart always went out those people, around my

parents' age, who we treated... I can't tell you what it did to me... Afterwards, when I was studying, after one of the lectures at an art school, they brought me back to Hebron. They took us on a tour there. For me Hebron is like a....like something.... and I was very moved. I hadn't seen Hebron for eight, no, seven years. I was so very, very moved and on the way back I realized... and I tried to remember how I'd been there...all kinds of things from my army service, that I couldn't remember before this trip. When you go from Kiriat Arbah to Hebron, there's a place where the road gets steep.... and I really felt as if I was going home. As if I'd always known that one day I'd come back; all those years when I told myself – I want to go back; I want to go back. And I didn't try to explain to myself... so I was very... Gideon really got me all worked up about what we don't know. I knew that we didn't know, but it was just something buzzing around my head. From the moment I put my foot down in Hebron, all the memories, every footstep I took there came back. I was in extreme shock, because the situation is totally different from when I was there. The Jewish section is totally empty and the market is closed down. They forced 20, 000 Palestinians to move from side to side... to come back all these years later... I could remember times when I'd walked through the Casba in Hebron and it looked like Machaneh Yehuda. It was a market, a real market. I knew about it from the lectures, but suddenly you find yourself in the street, and you see a whole different "style"; a whole street that's empty, all blocked up, full of graffiti of stars of David, and under them the word "conquered". So my first reaction was shock... I thought how can it be that we were victims, and we should understand, so how can it be that we allow such behavior, without actually doing anything about it. Afterwards, there wasn't really a choice... I'm the type that gets involved... I'm a person of the universe and I'm very accepting... and I'm very... but I didn't choose "Shovrim Shtikah" (Breaking the Silence) – and I said this to 120 people last night at their lecture. I didn't choose to be a soldier, and I didn't choose to be insulting and I didn't choose to do what I'm doing now; somehow it seemed to choose me.... Even when they suggested that I run the organization, they read some of the texts I'd written about the territories, and they saw me in a few pictures... because from the moment I

returned to Hebron, I kept on finding someone to come with me and I went back there again and again; as if I felt compelled to go back there.

Keren: What attracted you?

Interviewee: I'm a very authentic person; very open and very honest. And I guess that somehow I'm angry at myself that for all those years I didn't say anything. I didn't want to touch the subject or the experience.... I was even angry for being such a naïve 18-year-old... what was I thinking? How could I not see where I was? In one of the squadron's... I had three squadrons in the Hebron area and one in headquarters. One of the squadron's was disbanded several months after I left, because they used to catch Palestinian boys, they did it a lot, they would beat them up inside the jeep, and then throw them out while they were driving. I knew they were doing it. The rumor was going around. So they disbanded the squadron on the day that the boy they threw out of the jeep died. And that was when they put the soldiers in jail for a few months. I was part of it, I was there. I didn't get my own hands dirty, and I wasn't privy to all the information, but I should have understood what was going on... but there's this gap... and even though I was relatively grown up for 18, and very aware, and seemingly very "out", someone who says what they think... but somehow those seven months in Hebron turned me into a different person. Even without dirtying my hands or stealing... they just turned me into someone I wasn't...

Keren: What does that mean?

Interviewee: Well, I grew up in a home... I'm half Yemenite and half Ashkenazi, it's not just the gap between them... but I have all these cousins who are bums, real bums, and I have cousins who are settlers. And then there's my mother's side, so-called Ashkenazi, who are more so-called intellectuals, and I always grew up between the two sides. And I always somehow managed to find the common grounds. When I talked to the girls who testified, someone said to me "Wow, you talk to each one differently – with Magavnikim (border guard) you talk like a Magavnik and with the girl from Modi'in you

talk differently". I guess I was really trying to be part of... I joined the border guard and knew that I don't have... I'm a person with friends from all periods of my life, but I don't have any friends from the border guard... Even when I was there, I saw that the gap was so huge that there was no way I was going to make friends. It's like I had to force myself to be extreme, forced myself to be... so I could be part of the gang. On the other hand, every time I tried to fit in, when I'd do a weapons search... it nearly choked me to death. After an hour or two of patrolling around the Maharat Hamachpela, there was no one to come and relieve me... I needed someone to come and pick me up, because I could feel that even one more minute was too much.... Mainly, I'm angry that I didn't... I didn't say anything... I did talk to them about human rights, but in personal conversations... the commanders used to falsify the reports...they wrote that they conducted lectures in the summer, when I knew that they never did. And I used to... but they, well so they didn't...I was looking for a way to kill time. One of the first things I saw was that no one wanted to be there. Everyone wanted out. Without meaning to, I became the same kind of person. That's why I became an officer. So somehow, it was there all the time; it waited somewhere in my unconscious, ready to break out at some stage. I'm a curious person... and honest about others... people who want to know the truth come to me... if my friends want to know the honest truth they come to me, because I'm a person who tells it like it is. I think everyone has someone like that in his/her life. So I walked around with this feeling, and didn't do anything about it for a few years. And then, when I started studying, I suddenly realized just how much we.... and that was it... my critical attitude to the media isn't only about the conflict; the media doesn't only describe Palestinian Israelis, though it's very significant, but there are also all these other....

Anyway, in the flow of life and the universe, I was pulled in this direction and I've been at it for about a year and two months, as a full time, every day job. So I would say that I've accepted it, it feels very right. I feel good about being able to dialogue even with people who don't agree with me. The dialogue is very important for me. I'm not so educationally oriented, I wouldn't want to be a teacher, for example. But,

when I addressed a group of 30 religious girls at "Zahali", the pre-military Mechina (introductory program) and talked to them after their exam till ten thirty at night, I felt that this is the right way to do it. It's very accessible for me. I'm not a kibbutznik; I don't attend demonstrations, I don't know Palestinians. I'm in a circle with Palestinians, in the organization, and I know the Palestinian I visit in Hebron and in the south Hebron Mountain; and when I talk to them, it's terrible...

Keren: What's terrible?

Interviewee: Really terrible. It brings everything so close. Yesterday, I told someone from my father's family from Yemen, that they look like Arabs. Even when I meet them at Tzelem, sometimes people talk to me in Arabic. I say that we should throw down the walls we've built inside, and then, then it will be easy. Because now, Israel sees the Palestinians as a kind of brutal society, and though there is a lot of truth in that, there are also many ways in which they resemble us, after all this time. There is something very warm about the Yemenites, about the way they offer hospitality to people who come to visit. And it's the same for the Bedouins and for the Palestinians. There's not all that much difference. I'm not reaching out or doing it for the Palestinians. I'm very, very leftist, much more than I care to say, but I put my political beliefs aside when I talk to people. I think that we are doing the other side wrong, and that truly there are two victims in the story – I would guess there always are... I know that when I came home from the army, I always had electricity, and I always had a home to return to. I always try to recognize the other side, because I know the extent to which Israelis don't....

Keren: The wall you said that we have between us and them, what do you think it's made of?

Interviewee: Let's start off from the fact that we've been victims for ever and ever.... The Jewish victim who accompanies us from the day we're born; and when we continue to have children, and we take the children to Poland, and look at how we teach history in the schools – look at what we say and what isn't mentioned....

Keren: Victimhood is taught?

Interviewee: Yes, victimhood is taught, and they're divided into... Gideon and I always argue on this point, and I tell him that when there were all these terrorist attacks, and I was pro-Palestinian, it affected me. I was afraid to walk around in the street in Tel Aviv. Even now, I catch myself watching who is boarding the bus. Gideon thinks I'm exaggerating – but that's what I felt.

I went on a youth exchange when I was 16. I went to Germany, to the twin city of the regional council where I live. And in Germany, it was 25 years after... a summer here, a summer there... three weeks you travel in Israel and then you travel in Germany. I was 16 when I went there and I met amazing people, some of them friends till this day. The first thing that bothered me terribly was that in one of the conversations, I was speaking with a friend who told me that he doesn't feel guilty. I got really upset – what do you mean you don't feel guilty? ... as if you should have this guilt...it should weigh on your shoulders and make you bend... So we dug into the essence of this matter, of recognizing that a new page was seemingly opened quite some time ago and that you're part of it... And then we went to one of the camps and then to Dachau. The leader of the Israeli group – I don't know what she was thinking...Some Germans came along too. Even the ceremony was joint – Germans and Israelis, and they sang, and two of them (Germans) even sang in Hebrew. The leader had us meet outside and told the Israelis to be there a quarter of an hour early. So we arrived and she sat us down in a circle and played that song by Boaz Sharabi ... I don't remember which....

Keren: Latet? (to give?)

Interviewee: No, a different song, not Latet. One of the less well known songs, and we all started to cry. The Germans came at a certain point, and they felt pretty awful. The essence of being together is being together. I couldn't see it at the time, but afterwards, when we got friendly, they told me... but it put them in an unpleasant position. It fortified our sense of being victims... and how much we...it really cut

us off... to put it mildly. We are so raised to be the chosen people, on the one hand, and on the other hand, we're always a persecuted people....always being hunted... And it creates a barrier. I talk with Israelis about this all the time, and the answers I get are not very realistic... as if people still feel that tomorrow we can all be destroyed.... Tomorrow there can be another Holocaust. There's an inability to see the other side, because of our very self absorption and from the anxiety that tomorrow, we won't be here...

We spoke about why the Israelis don't contribute to organizations that address the conflict. I've also seen many people who say that we're wasting money, because we're living on credit, and we don't know what tomorrow will bring... that seems to be why people don't contribute... Our entire sense of existence is very current, and everything we do is... even me, I don't know what tomorrow will bring, but people tend to overdo it... because of the situation that is really very complicated, there are attacks and people die, so the easiest thing is to say that all the people on the other side are...and look how miserable we are here with all our wars for existence... it's one of the things I try to explain to people in lectures – most of the situations I talk about are not situations of war. Nowadays, and in the past ten years, IDF soldiers have been mostly policing. So the night that I went on a weapons search, I suddenly saw this young girl, who was probably about my age now, looking at me. And I realized that my service is creating a victim, without acknowledging that I can create a victim, without really seeing that there is also a victim on the other side, because I'm so totally self absorbed and didn't feel a thing...

Keren: What did you think when you saw her?

Interviewee: Misery. She was a victim. She was standing there, poor thing and holding a child. The little child looked at me too. She followed me. I remember that I tried to smile to the child, and he, naturally, didn't really smile back. I don't know if I saw myself in this situation, but she was definitely a victim. And like I said yesterday, I was the one in uniform, and I felt so much better than them, and I even when I

went into her house, I felt superior, but this was also the first time that I also felt uncomfortable. It was in the middle of the night, I was 18 and a half, and she was about ten years older than me. I felt that I was doing something that wasn't very courageous. Nisim told me to do it, and I just did it. I didn't have any conceptions in my head that told me not to do it. And somehow, the fact that they were all so much more practiced at it than I was, made me see the absurd in the situation even more. I was in an emotional frame of mind, and all the rest of them were just matter of fact... I saw her as a victim that I was creating. I was at an age when I could tell myself that we are making all of them hate us, and we are creating more and more terrorists, but this was the first time that I was actually there, and I could see what was happening with my own eyes.

Keren: Let me see if I understood you. You were this typical Israeli, who is aware of the conflict, in the terms I see it. You knew that we owe our survival to the IDF, because we don't have any other country and no other possibilities....

Interviewee: I may have been slightly different from the average, because from a young age, I had the feeling that no land was worth a human life. So it's a little different. I'm not attached to Jerusalem; I have no problem with Jerusalem becoming an international city that belongs to everyone, no... I have no problem. Let them give it back... as long as we get a little peace and quiet...

Keren: Not such a well developed human philosophy... so now you arrive in Hebron and you're there for seven months, and still didn't know any Palestinians? But you were exposed to Palestinian life and the physical connection, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but it took you another few years to emotionally and subjectively digest the experience – am I right?...

Interviewee: Yes

Keren: ..to understand what happened there, to start looking at it a little more critically...

Interviewee: Yes. One of the things that influenced me greatly was that I was on my way home from the army one day, and I was run over at a pedestrian crossing and I had to go through a very complicated process of rehabilitation. It made me appreciate life and responsibility for the fact that life can be over in a second, truly... This started me on an inner journey, a spiritual journey, to peel off the labels and to just look at people as people. It really strengthened things that may have been there before.

Interviewee: So what else would you like to know?

Keren: A little about the organization, about its history, and its range of activities.

Interviewee: It was founded by someone from a Charedi (Ultra-orthodox) background by the name of Yehuda Shaul, and it began from the exhibition I talked about yesterday. They really believed that if only they tell it like it is: once known, the situation would change.

Keren: He initiated the exhibition?

Interviewee: He was the motivating force. They were a group of people, and I'm still surrounded by most of the, they're doing their doctorates, a few years here, a few there, in Boston and in Finland. It's a handful of people who are still very committed.

Keren: A group of fighters who served in Hebron.

Interviewee: They were in the Nahal in Hebron.

Keren: Yehuda was one of them?

Interviewee: Yes, he was one of them. He's the founder. It's hard to find people like him. He deserves a Nobel Prize.

Keren: He just gathered them and had them document what took place during their service in Hebron?

Interviewee: Yes, they had to talk about it, they made the exhibition, and they contributed pictures from their own private albums. They hung them on the walls and thought that they'd finished their job...

Keren: Pictures along with written testimony?

Interviewee: Yes. The exhibit really made waves, because all of a sudden soldiers, are not promoting dissention, they're just hanging the pictures and saying "look in the mirror", and if you don't... So, 60 soldiers took their discharge grants and established Shovrim Shtikah (Breaking the Silence). And they went to Kiriat Shmona, and we have 203 interviewers who continually go to Kiriat Shmona and interview the soldiers. They realized that they have to provide an example that it wasn't only by talking about it that it would end because people would understand that they no longer want the occupation. So then, there were more and more people. Until about a year ago, till the end of 2008, they were 4-5 people who worked full time or part time, but regularly. Most of our work is with the Israeli public; some are Israelis, some aren't. We want to shake up the young people, before they... and we want our generation to be more active, because they were there... and we want XXXX people also. We want our parents' generation to form a lobby against the decision makers, and we also lobby with the foreign diplomats who come to Israel and want to learn about the conflict. There are groups of young Rabbis who come from America, and we meet with these groups. Because most of us are religious, and two of our founders wear yarmulkes, our affinity for the Jewish community is very strong.

Keren: What is your motto? To expose as many stories as you can?

Interviewee: As many as we can. We see ourselves as engaging in a kind of journalism. I really believe that if we had independent, investigative communications in Israel, there would be no need for us.

Keren: What kind of media do you think we have?

Interviewee: Enlisted, no doubt, totally enlisted. I know it. And in the past year and a half, I know it even more, because I work with them. I know what I can get out of them and what I can't, I know which stories they bury, I know the reasons they bury things, I know where the orders come from, I know all of these things. What is denied and how to work with the IDF spokesperson, the bottom line is – the media is enlisted.

So we're trying to be an information pipe-line, in order to trigger public discourse. Now we don't want to just stimulate discourse on the level of "let's talk about it...." and leave it as social chit-chat. No, we think that reality should change and that the occupation is corrupting. The occupation is corrupting and we think that the victim on the other side is suffering and we are suffering too. We see the victimhood on both sides, and think it's bad.. I'm very honest with myself about this. We don't... Micah and I... the other guy who runs the organization... we don't have a clue about what we can do to find a solution, I really don't have any clue. We are so busy with what we're doing that we don't even discuss solutions. I think that to a certain extent, I'm more extreme than they are, as far as my leftist opinions, but actually, there are so many people who testify, who are not on the left, and this issue is nevertheless ingrained so deeply in them. I do understand that we are political; I understand that we are a political organization; it's kind of hard for me to accept; to accept that morality is a question of right or left. If there is anything I'm hearing for the past week, it's "how wonderful that you are able to put politics aside; how wonderful that you are constantly being provoked by questions and you manage to ward them off". I don't take a stand on dissention; I don't take a stand on international war crimes. People talk about all kinds of solutions and I say that I don't know, and I truly don't have the answers. If I had to represent 700 people, I'm not sure I could. We even made sure that some of the testimonies came from the "right" or the "extreme right", and some from the "center"; no one became more "leftist" during these years.

Keren: And what about the leftists who testified?

Interviewee: No one became more leftist; some became more centrist, and some more rightist, but not more leftist.

Keren: So what are you actually saying? Maybe the testimonies aren't actually....

Interviewee: It doesn't say a thing (about politics?) It does say that as far as morality, and I'm really happy to say this, that people don't necessarily connect morality with politics. If there's a young woman, and I'm not sure what I told you yesterday and what I didn't... but she was someone who arrived on our tour by mistake. She used to be a "fighter"; she came from a very right-wing home and she's religious, and became even more religious after her army service. Her testimony was about how shocking the situation is in Hebron, where we actually deported 20,000 people. Without any written laws in Israel, there is a street in Hebron where only Jews are allowed, only because the army decided, and not the State. She says "on one hand, if there are already so many empty houses, because we chased them out", and says, for the record that "it's better to bring in more Jews to expand the settlement". She thinks that we shouldn't leave places like Hebron. On the other hand, she says "I've become a very different from the person I was when I entered the army, from what they taught me at home. And it's very different from the kind of person I'd like to be". This is the young woman who took a Palestinian youth and kneed him in the groin, after her boyfriend left her. And a minute after she'd done it, for no real reason, she understood that he could lodge a complaint about her and she had no way of defending herself, because there was no real reason that she did it. She knew we were going to publish her testimony and she accepted it, not because she thinks the occupation should end, but because she really doesn't like the kind of person she's become.

Many people ask me why people want to testify. There are all kinds of reasons. Some people really feel guilty and regret what they've done; maybe for them it's a way of asking for forgiveness. It's very hard to criticize the IDF, and I see this all the time, the IDF is the most "sacred cow" in Israeli society. This has

been true since 1967; we've grown up on that ideal. I think that many people who come from a different kind of home, it's even harder for them. My parents find what I do very hard to bear. There are some things that we just don't talk about.

Keren: They don't boast about what you're doing?

Interviewee: No; not at all. But I do think they are very proud that I'm standing my own ground.

Keren: Yesterday, in your lecture, I didn't hear criticism. I only heard exposure.

Interviewee: My criticism is not pointed at the IDF. My criticism is pointed at the society that sends the IDF on such missions. I showed the children the movie about the **חוארה huara**, a fifteen minute movie that's very hard to watch. It's very hard to watch the soldiers beating the Palestinians, and I say that the IDF is made up of people, so should I criticize the people? I found myself in an impossible situation, what was I meant to do about it? But when people hear me say something like this, their defense mechanisms immediately jump into action, and they say "how can you say something like that?"

A little while ago, I interviewed for "Makor Rishon", an extremely right-wing paper. The guy who interviewed me was an officer, and a chauvinist. So for the entire article, he really mocked me. When I told him that my grandfather finds it very, very painful to hear the things I have to say, and my grandfather was in the Palmach, he said "so what? the Palmach also chased out the Palestinians. Go do some research and you'll see that it was always like this, or even worse." I don't really care what the situation was in '48 and not what it was like in '67 and not even what it was like in the first Intifada. I know that in the first Intifada there were things no less terrible, maybe even more. I'm not interested, and the reason that I'm making all this information public is because I want to criticize the apathy. I'm critical of the State of Israel, for just standing by and not doing anything. How can we not react, and just remain silent? How can we live in a democratic state and I can't even reach one state official to talk to?

How can it be that there's no one who is ready to meet with me? I believe that that's a disgrace. Bibi Netanyahu released a press release that there is no silence that needs to be broken without even agreeing to meet with us. Without hearing us out. Barak's office called me and told me that they'd received our request and then another two months went by. I met Gabi Ashkenazi by chance at some gas station down south. The Israeli establishment talks through the media, and the fact that all of them are heavily enlisted only fortifies the bias and presents a picture that is totally distorted. I told Gabi Ashkenazi that by denying anything I said, he was precluding civilian discourse on the issue and there is no civilian discourse that is not connected to the army. On every issue, I'm immediately asked "And what do you have to say about the IDF?" "If we didn't have the IDF, we wouldn't be here...." "The IDF's honor is at stake..."

Keren: Is there any average reaction? In the repertoire of reactions that you receive, is this the usual reaction?

Interviewee: No, the reaction is usually, - so what do you suggest? What do you have to say about..."

One of my best friends, who really believes in what he says – when I tell him about the weapons search, it's OK because that's a necessity, and when I tell him about blockades for Palestinians on the West Bank – there's nothing that can be done. I told him about one of the first testimonies that shocked me: a Palestinian exploded at the blockade and some of the guys took the severed head and put it on a broom stick, and took pictures with it with a cigarette in their hands... and put it on their screen savers at home. His first reaction was "well what do you want – that was an exceptional case". I told him "think about what you just told me. Think about yourself and think about your children – do you think that's acceptable behavior? When I look at the behavior of the American soldiers in Iraq, and their abuse of people, I know that they do things that are much worse. I do know that. Even the old-timers in Iraq, those who are here now...and I'm not talking about what happened in Vietnam... they talk about things

that are very similar to us, but they take the next step. The Americans take the next step. People say to me: "So what? – there are those who do much worse" but what do I care about what they are doing? I don't care! I really don't care. It's as if we're dirtying ourselves by saying something bad about ourselves so they immediately turn around and point a finger at others. At a synagogue where I spoke on Shabbat, some Israeli said "I really respect what you are doing – people like to see young people with ideology". They're moved by the fact that we're fighting for something, and I agree with them, and that's what I say, that I don't mind talking outside of Israel and I don't mind standing here and telling [him] that I'm fed up, and I'm not ashamed of it. And I'm not talking from a sense of pride about Israel. I **am** talking, because this is the issue and this is what I've got to deal with in Israeli society, and it's important for people on the outside to know that things aren't black and white; that there are people who think differently, and that too is part of Israeli society. And this guy wanted me to open each lecture of mine by saying that I'm standing here – and I say it quite often – and I can talk freely, which is not something that can take place in many countries. But he also wanted me to say that there are many others who do worse things than we do. I'm not ready to say that. Even when I'm asked, I tell people that that doesn't interest me. Just doesn't interest me. Let them do what they want; let the Americans abuse the Iraqis as much as they want, and let them stay in Afghanistan for forty years if they like; I couldn't care less. And that's something that people find very hard to stomach. They take it as criticism. It's being critical that "it's only about us, only about us...."

Keren: Are there different reaction in different age groups, say in the younger generation or your parents' generation?

Interviewee: Well let's say that you can only understand what's it's like to be a soldier if you're a soldier. So, there are different characteristics...I tried to prepare myself for the army, but before that I didn't have any opinions. At our age, there's apathy, I'm sorry to say... there are many types of apathy....

Keren: With all due respect, our age is not the same....

Interviewee: I mean my age group; people at your age are even more apathetic. People aged 35-45-50, and up to my parents' age. My parents' generation is far from familiar with what's going on in the field, but they're worried. Because I think that the fact that there is no young, ideological leadership, well it's troubling for my parents' generation, because they see us all deteriorating very, very.... but I have friends of my own age, and they're just not interested. They talk about lots of things, about their kids, etc, but not about this issue. We're trying to get people of my age, 28, and less, who served in the army in 2001, to be a little more active. People told me, go ahead, be political; establish a party; establish a political movement. I don't want to get my hands dirty; as far as I'm concerned politics is pretty dirty; you give up your own truth and I don't want to do that – but I do understand why people say it. We're not talking about alternatives; we're fortifying the sense that something bad is happening, but we're not offering a positive alternative as to what should be done. And that really bugs people.

Keren: So you say that there is a characteristic reaction of apathy. Are there other characteristic reactions?

Interviewee: Defensiveness. Listen, my father said it very clearly: you're washing our dirty laundry in public; outside of Israel, I don't want to know about it. He said explicitly "I don't want to talk about it". I have techniques, I've learned that each person...Like yesterday, there was a group of Israelis who said "Listen, you don't..." and they close their minds and say "it's not that... and it's not... Goldstone is...and you're playing it safe, and if you want, then take the next step and send it to the Investigating Military Police, or provide the details, or go to the international court in Hague; do something; why are you talking to me about morality... you yourselves are not doing anything..." But as far as I'm concerned, what we are doing is the first step...for anything else that comes afterwards...whatever happens... this is the first thing that needs to be done.

Keren: Are there any reactions in Israel that encourage you?

Interviewee: Yes. There is a silent, left-wing, and not only the left-wing. There are also people who hear what I'm saying, and, to a certain extent are very happy that we've been talking about things. I'm so sure of my position; I don't think there is anyone who can convince me that, well, that's life, it happens, it's....there.... The facts are actually very simple. It's happening and there is nothing more important than to bring it to everyone's attention... and as far as interpreting it... let them know that this is what's happening, and that there's nothing more important to do with this reality than to bring it to everyone's attention; so that they'll know that it's happening. The next step will be for everyone to choose what s/he wants to do about it. I'm a person who believes that you have to know what's going on; awareness is very important for me. That's true of my personal journey as well, so it's as if... how can you choose something if you don't know about it? How can you send your children to the army, if you don't know what they'll go through? And I think that the worst thing is, and this goes from top to bottom...the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defense and the Chief of Staff, don't give people the option of coming out and talking about it, so what do you do with an 18 year old who you send to the army and don't let him come home and talk about it on weekends? Because we tell people that we publish anonymous testimonies, and it's not like they're scared of the Military Investigative Police, who will declare them war criminals; people do expose their friends. Once, one of our witnesses was exposed, and his friends in the unit stabbed him for squealing. I met Gabi Ashkenazi at the gas station and we started to talk, I kind of cornered him, so he had to listen and he said: "I don't understand why people don't go to their commander and talk about it". I said to him: "Gabi, in the army that I was in, that wasn't done; and in the army that you command, it isn't done either. And all I can say is that it's just what I expected of you; to stand there and give me such seemingly obvious answers. Maybe when you're released from the army, you'll begin to see the absurd in the fact that in Israel there's no civilian discourse, and everything is based on what the army dishes out".

You have no idea how much the media is influenced by what the army dictates. The IDF spokesperson can enlist the reporters for reserve duty, in order to print what he says. After our publicity about what took place in Gaza, that was such a mess, a reporter from Yedioth Aharonoth met with 7 soldiers who gave us testimony. I can tell you about it because it's already gone public. He met 7 soldiers, who gave testimony on Gaza, he met them face to face. We don't give journalists the names, but they do meet them, to have enough to write about in their articles. They told him about the operation in Gaza, and one of the things that came out was that there were no order to open fire, and actually they told people that whoever read the flyers that the air force dispersed, and remained in the area, is most likely a terrorist and could be shot. And that is something very different, because there was no need to verify means or intentions. Because, even if someone is roaming around with a Molotov cocktail, it's forbidden to shoot him until he lights it.... and then you shoot him from the knees down in order not to kill him. That didn't happen in Gaza. After the reporter talked to our soldiers who participated in the Gaza operation, he investigated further on his own and unearthed even more material. He spoke to one of the commanders, who told him, in these very words: "we rewrote the 'open fire' commands for this operation in Gaza – if previously you had to prove...now you didn't have to prove to start shooting...." The reporter went to the military court and spoke to an attorney who was there, and who is now a citizen, and repeated what he'd heard without telling her who said it. She said: "no way, no such thing, if that was the policy, then we did, indeed commit war crimes". Yedioth Aharonoth didn't publish the story, because they didn't want to irritate anyone. Do you understand what I'm saying? They didn't want to get anyone angry, because it's very bad, particularly now, after the Goldstone report.

The IDF, and the heads of state, have been saying for the past few months that the reports we're publishing are false. They say that the orders weren't changed; that nothing like that happened. A reporter from Ha'aretz met with our soldiers and talked to commanders and spoke about the "neighbor procedure" – you take a Palestinian as a shield, in order to enter a house, so if anything blows up, or

shoots, he'll be the target. In Gaza, they went even further, by going from house to house through the walls, in order not to be exposed; they just break the walls and go to the next house. So they gave the Palestinians hammers, so they would do it; they would break down the walls, so if there were bombs in the walls, they'd blow up. Our soldier testified about this. The army knows who this soldier is, and in what unit he serves, and the military investigative police didn't approach us at all, not even once. A senior commander interviewed for one of the papers and said that that was indeed the situation, but that the Palestinians had volunteered. They did in fact serve as human shields for the soldiers.

Yesterday, one of the reporters called me and said that the military law court was going to issue a statement that there was no such "neighbor procedure" in Gaza. So what do say about that? Let him read the paper from July and tell me that there was no such senior commander who said it....

If I look at what I'm struggling against, the reason I'm fighting... it's this silence... because it's the worst thing that can happen to us as a society. When the head of a society decides that we'll only know what he wants us to know, and in this case, the head of state and the head of the army go hand in hand.

Keren: What do you think it does to us?

Interviewee: Let me tell you what it does to us... I heard about this guy, one of the first pilots to bomb in Gaza during the operation, and he hasn't been able to sleep for months. We think that we're distancing it by letting the air force do all the work. It really hurts me what we're doing to our soldiers. We're such victims that we don't even see what we're doing to other people. But look at what it's doing to us. Do you think its coincidence that in this generation there are so many druggies, who take "trips" in India? You think its coincidence? People go round and round in circles and can't find themselves. I try to explain to my friends in Germany what happens to someone who is 18-20 and is in the army, what happens to him during those years. I'll say it again – it's very hard for me, what we're doing to the other side, as human being to human being. But even if you put that aside – just look what it does to you. Be

courageous enough to say, "I'm ruining my own life". And that's what we're doing – ruining our own lives, and no good can come of it.

And lastly, one of the soldiers said, when they asked him how it influenced him, he said – "I drive through Kalkilya in a military vehicle and I drive over cars, and I do it like it's the only natural path to take, and then I come home for the weekend – you think a red light stops me?" Other people say they're willing to live like that. I'm not. Let them call me a traitor, or anti-Semitic....

Keren: Is that what they tell you?

Interviewee: Sure, an enemy of the people, that's my favorite....

Keren: An enemy of the people?

Interviewee: Yes, an enemy of the people, but I share the honors with Gideon Levi, so...but yes, that's what they tell me.... I say OK, let them say that, but I know what I'm doing and why I'm doing it...I know the truth about what's happening out there in the field... so all these voices don't budge me... My parents find it more painful, I just don't care. But I say: What's Zionism? We argue between us all the time about the meaning of Zionism, and there many new definitions... in my eyes, its first and foremost associated with love... Love of a place, love of the land, love of the people... and I was taught, and my parent's life style is that love is not always blind, you have to ask questions. If I had a husband who beat me, and I love him, what then? Let love be blind and stay with him and not confront him with what's hard for me? I'm a loving person, it's important for me, and it's hard for me with the things that this love is doing. It's hard for me, but I'm still not ready to say I don't love. For me, it's quite simple now; the question is how I convince everyone else to see it this way. That is our challenge - because we are really very different. When I enter a room, or Yehuda or Micah enter a room, a religious woman and religious men, coming to represent an organization that is fighting against the conquest, people don't know how

to digest it...they say, how can it be, you're not those left wingers... and they don't know how to react...

You get it?

Keren: Yes, I get it, I really do....

Hillel Levin

K: I'm doing my doctorate at Lesley. Vivian is my advisor and I'm interested in defense mechanisms. The topic of my dissertation is on how we can check the role of defense mechanisms in Israeli society, in the context of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. In other words, what I'd actually like to explore is whether or not the psychological knowledge available on the topic of defense mechanisms can explain the conflict... can explain... on the Israeli side only, I'm not looking into the Palestinian side, I'm only investigating Israeli society, which naturally is a very complex thing with many different layers and I will therefore be forced into abstractions and generalizations, because Israeli society is such a wide variable... but nevertheless, if its possible to speak of the mainstream of Israeli society, then, how can I look through at this through the prism of defense mechanisms in order to understand and analyze the conflict.

H: That's good.

K: Yes

H: And how does this relate to Vivian's work that has a dramatic side or a...

K: I'm also an expressive therapist, and of course the first thing that relates to Vivian, is that she's a peacenik.... I actually arrived at this direction unintentionally. As a therapist I was preoccupied with defense mechanism, and my thesis, done in Israel, was also on this topic, but as they relate to my work in the clinic.... I worked... I tried to see how the tools of expressive art therapy, mostly psycho-dramatic tools, can work differently with defense mechanisms than the more classic, psycho-analytic work that deals more in mirroring or interpretation. For example, I checked out how it was possible to take a defense mechanism and present it psycho-dramatically and what this can contribute to the therapeutic process.

My direction was fairly purely psychological, and then I came here, and Vivien became my advisor, and the advisor of my colleague Yousef. From the start, we developed a kind of triangle that we perceived, to a certain extent, in terms of political psychology.

H: How do I fit it to all this, what can I.....?

K: From the start, Vivien mentioned your name over and over again as someone I would be well advised to hear; she said it was worthwhile for me to come and talk to, because through you I could...

H: Well, if that's the beginning of a question, my first association to your question would be that all of us, all of us want to be right, particularly the Jews. It's very hard to be in a position where on the one hand, our entire culture is based.... our religion is based on suffering on behalf of something... for some goal... whether it's because of our sins we've been exiled.... or in order to settle the Negev... and there's suffering and the suffering is justified and then suddenly, we're in a situation where there's a lot of suffering, some of it that we are causing, some of it we cause because we have to prepare ourselves to face the Arabs, to face all kinds of things, and I think that it's a difficult situation, very difficult psychologically, because we don't want to be not justified. But, to a certain extent, we all know that there is justice on both sides....

K: So, do you think that if you look at Israeli society, that it sees this....

H: ... Sees, is aware, recognizes that it is causing suffering to the other side?

H: I think that the more suffering that exists... the stronger... these mechanisms that you are investigating grow and give protection against the simple truth... what we see on television every night on the news... so then we can all blame the television... can blame... but on the whole... it's a very unpleasant situation.

K: And if you had to think of... as an observer of Israeli society.... Which defenses... mental defenses... does it use?

H: First of all, just to blame.... instead of to pity....

K: Projection

H: I think there's a step that comes before projection.

K: OK

H: Where you just blame... their leaders caused it... their leaders are still causing it.... and there's some truth to that, I believe, and yet.... so the whole issue becomes very complex.

K: OK

H: Actually, the message we try to convey, our so called integrity as a people throughout history, it's all very complicated and complex. It's very hard to differentiate between contradictions and accusations on who is right, who is not right, so instead, we just have to understand our fellow man and have him/her understand us and compromise on the question of injustice.

K: And how is that done? How can we understand each other?

H: First of all, by emphasizing listening, the need to listen...

K: Listening...

H: Yes, listening and to express oneself well, and groups of bringing Arabs and Jews who don't usually communicate together to hear each other and talk and somehow get to the stage, not of apologies, but simply acknowledgement... "I hear what you are saying" it's a very important step.

K: And how do you think it's possible to go from blaming, as you described it, to listening? How do you listen to someone who you believe is guilty?

H: Uh.... (pause).... well simply, simply, a certain sense of estrangement, and just simply to analyze the blame, so for example, you can say that if the leaders in '48 messed things up, how is this child to blame? And even if the current leaders are messing things up, nevertheless, we can take pity on...

It happened to us and all of Jewish history is full of it. If we don't feel it now, how can we discuss Anti-Semitism and all kinds of things... we're no better than they are...

I hope that there is the possibility of overcoming this insurgence, though I see many failures, even in groups, in my own groups... I'm in the Galilee, with settlements, with lands so... part of one of our projects is to renovate one of the cemeteries that remained behind in Jewish villages...

K: OK

H: So, what could be so simple and yet I heard with my own ears, Jewish moshavniks, aged 30 to 40, what did they do to get these lands... they traded the swamps for them... in other words, they did nothing, absolutely nothing... they were in the right place at the right time, they got...and now they have beautiful estates... they know the estates have a history, that it was estates that belonged to their neighbors and they dare say, you know, it's not convenient for us...why should we put up a fence, it's easier for me to get to my neighbor without a fence... why should I help with the fence... and after months and months of discussions.... so.... It's just not so simple... so you don't always succeed, but I think that anyway it's the method to overcome the defensiveness... the feeling that we're all right... we've all done bad and we're all right too... and then there's a chance to overcome the more pathological defense mechanisms.

K: Did you see this in your groups, some kind of process of... groups that, for example, were more successful, what took place, what happened there? Let's say, if we're trying to look at them from the perspective of defense mechanisms, did they start from a position of blame or from a very self righteous place and then what happened.....?

H: First of all, identification with very simple things... talking about history, we emphasize things like... someone starts to talk about something that happened to his/her family in the "Naqba" and its not things that... most of the people are not in their sixties, so it's transmitted knowledge... so, How did you hear it? Where did it happen? How old were you? How did your grandfather or grandmother relate to it... and we emphasize the background of how all this was transmitted... The message conveyed of we suffered and they caused the suffering and then the Jews remember something they heard from their "Bube" or "Zeide" about the Holocaust or about '48 also. So, your grandfather sounds like my grandmother and then identification begins indirectly.

I acknowledge, I feel, the circumstances are similar, our families were similar... such things...

K: Do you feel that the Israelis in the group, this is the first time that they are hearing... that they're becoming aware of such a personal narrative of...

H: Very often, but on the other hand, I, for example, was with a group of Arabs and Jews who visited Auschwitz together, maybe I told you about it already, I was very hesitant.. and to top it... I was a visiting professor at the time for a half year in Japan and had to reach Auschwitz from Tokyo, between my lectures in Tokyo... it wasn't so simple... so I came there and how did the Arabs react? First of all, it wasn't quid pro quo, the way I anticipated or feared it would be.... So, OK, we now accept the Holocaust and now you accept the "Naqba".... No, it wasn't like that at all... and what happened was that the Arabs, who had also done matriculation exams and learned about the Holocaust, they were bewildered... true, they said, we did learn about it... but we thought it was nonsense, that it was Zionist

propaganda, now we see it with our own eyes that it really happened.... and their surprise was genuine, truly genuine, not just to make an impression on us...

K: So...

H: So, well...

K: Well, I can see... you know... for me... I kind of understand them.... for the first year or two, every time Yousef would talk to me, it was Palestinian propaganda. It didn't matter what he said, emotionally I couldn't begin to hear it... so OK, yes, OK there was something of really, really recognition, it was that you have suffered.... It's very relevant today, you know, today is Holocaust day... how did the Israelis feel being there with the Palestinians.

H: It was very powerful, we... it gave some kind of existence to the period, it was some kind of continuity... but unfortunately, the continuity didn't... it wasn't like friends who go together to a summer camp... it was a very powerful experience, so I think that some of the people do keep it touch... but when it ended.... I hoped that it would lead to groups of Jews and Arabs who understand each other and would together address political questions... and instead what happened was that some of the Arabs want to honor the Holocaust, so there's now a center in Nazareth and once again, and I say this in all sincerity and innocence, and it's not that I'm God forbid suspicious that....it really did have an impact on them, but not of the kind that... now we've learned and now we're much more informed and we know about the Jewish background and maybe now we can talk and really begin to do something in the political realm....

K: And you don't see it on the Israeli side either...

H: No

K: No

H: On the Israeli side there was all kind of nonsense, all kinds of male and female demagogues who wanted to... it was organized by some Christian Arab, a priest...

K: The delegation?

H: Yes, the delegation, so they created a new kind of theology... all kinds of theologies...

K: That said what....?

H: I think it was more like "touchy feely" than anything seriously political, but, and I don't know how it happened or what happened, but I felt it was nonsense, and somehow, not the right reaction.

K: Do you think, in terms of defenses, that it could have been confronting defenses instead of confronting the essence?

H: Absolutely

K: So absolutely, meaning that you didn't feel any kind of willingness to have it continue in the future based on real things, with future intentions....

H: What's evident is that it didn't happen

K: Didn't happen

H: At some point, it could have happened. I didn't follow closely after things I could really discuss... somehow, even when people overcome their defensiveness, it comes out in extreme reactions on the other side... for example, one of the women who influenced this priest, is the daughter of an army officer, actually one of those known for his moderation, not the daughter, of let's say, Sharon....

K: OK

H: And I began, several times, once in Morocco at a Sufi Festival, once at the World Bank, where I was and she began to be very extreme... so it's not for sure that it only began on this mission, but she was extreme not only in negating Israel, she was against her own father... it was really psychopathology. In my humble opinion, and, well, not only did I feel uncomfortable, I was even very angry. I thought she was using the opportunity to air her own personal problems, so, yes, she overcame her defensiveness, but look what came out of it....

K: And what do you do in your groups? The groups you run... what... are they more structured? Or do they tend to be more fluid?

H: The structure is that first you have to learn how to listen, how to talk; the real basics. We have games and role play and we start with these activities over a long weekend, both sides, very intensive, not something you can do in a four-hour session. And we hope that something begins, as far as the group....people get to know each other and then we take it from there and our goal is aimed at activity, its an action-oriented dialogue, not just dialogue for the sake of dialogue.

K: In other words, what...

H: So, for example, from among the suggestions raised by these groups, one proposal was to preserve the cemetery and renovate it, another was to build a children's center, another that we should take our children on a picnic together, so that Arab youths and Jewish youths could get to know each other, which, even for Galilee settlements is apparently unusual.

K: OK

H: So that's it, and that's what's so crazy about it... that people who live three kilometers from each other... it's things like that.... and also for a closed settlement that's the basis for all this, like Ya'ad... Ya'ad building... so there are lands for Ya'ad and some ministry or other is pressuring them to build, to encourage houses.... so why should it just be another 250 Jewish families, why shouldn't it be a mixed community and it can be called "Mi-Ad".

But the Arabs participating in it are under pressure, they have to present results of their history, and think about what their grandfather would say if he saw me sitting together with a Zionist, but also my cousins in Lebanon and in other places in the Galilee, so it's a heavy load.... houses, and a neighborhood called "Mi-Ad".... it could really be something.... But first of all, even if they agree, and it's not totally in their hands... there are all kinds of agreements.... my daughter worked with the Bedouin, very interesting projects and good things came out of it... an agreement for a national park in the North...a wonderful agreement... but they just didn't sign it... years and years... and it's only a piece of paper... it's not an agreement at all...

K: And what do you think, that for Israelis to go live in such a neighborhood it wouldn't be... that they don't have... for them it's also a challenge... no? they also have to justify themselves to....

H: Yes, but again, I heard things that really scared me, I was amazed that some of the people that we handle... I see it as a failure that someone can get up and say, I don't want a mixed neighborhood because the Arabs make too many weddings, there's a lot of noise and I can't bear the noise... so as far as I'm concerned, as a person who grew up in the civil rights movement, it's the crudest kind of discrimination. Do the Arabs make that many more weddings than Jews? Are their weddings more noisy, is it going to bother you and... so what, so you say, ten o'clock at night?

so just to hear something like that, not to be able to refrain from saying something like and to humiliate them.... as if that's an answer to all the proposals....

K: It's so interesting, that I'd like to ask you questions about the Palestinians, but I won't because my topic is the Israelis...

H: As far as the Israelis, the man who said something like that is someone who is doing volunteerism... we don't enlist anyone... he volunteered to be in these groups, meaning that he was curious... more curious

K: Than many others...

H: Than other neighbors... we usually try, we usually do a sociogram to find the leaders... the opinion shapers, so I don't know if he was someone who would influence others, but he definitely had good will... and after months and months, he comes out with something like this... and then finally, I think he left the group.... That's how it influenced....

H: Anyway, let's get back to our topic...

K: All your groups take place in Israel?

H: No, we conduct groups in other places too, we try to work in India, for example, in the same method with Hindus and Moslems and particularly with business people who will be leaders and will develop channels to prevent violence and demonstrations and so on...

K: And the Israelis and Palestinians, only in Israel? Or here, too, for example, was there a group?

H: We didn't have one here

K: No

H: There are others who are doing groups here, but we didn't

K: And in Israel, how many groups did you do?

H: Oh about 6 or 8, something like that, now we're trying to set one up and I hope we'll do much more work... we did a group in Hadar, in Haifa, an urban type of group, and mostly in the Galilee

K: In which years?

H: During the past 3-4 years

K: OK

H: Now we have... I have a good friend I inherited from my daughter, I think, a true, outstanding leader amongst the Bedouins, Hir el Baz and I wanted to hand over all the affairs to him, but he claims that his influence with the Arabs is limited, that he's not the one to work with the Arabs... that a Bedouin is a Bedouin and an Arab is an Arab, but still, we're going to do a group in the Negev

K: And how do the Israelis come to attend your groups? Based on what....

H: Now we want to start a group in Peki'in, and why Peki'in? ...because there were riots there several months ago...

K: So how do they get publicized? How do people find out about them?

H: Our people are locals, so for example, one of our more successful and more experienced trainers, is a resident of Ya'ad... so it's a little complicated... she works with her neighbors... she knows the people in Peki'in, she knows how to find out who's who in Peki'in

K: And how many people usually take part in a group?

K: We are now trying to set standards, so that it will be about 15 from both sides, but usually the attrition rate is more on the side of the Arabs, more Arabs leave the group or they come just once

K: Do they start out with the same number more or less? Do you try to keep it equal?

H: Yes, definitely, always

K: You always start out with the same number

H: Yes

K: And the Arabs leave more? or the Israelis more... do you notice any differences between men and women?

H: Not that I noticed.

K: More or less

H: I can ask the... we have an evaluator who has material on that... he's the one to ask such questions

K: OK

H: But there are very interesting differences, for example, age is very important

K: Age

H: The Arabs are older, for them it's a pleasure to meet Jews, and the price they pay is less, apparently they don't have any pangs of conscience about what their grandfather of blessed memory would say about them talking to a Zionist, particularly if they are bourgeoisie and educated, so it simpler.... they

enter the groups well....it's actually the younger ones, the more ideological ones... who pay a heavier price and they are very conflicted about it

K: And the Israelis? Do you see differences in reactions between the older Israelis and the younger ones?

H: Not that I noticed... or analyzed, I'm not the one to do it, because I haven't participated enough. I mainly trained Jews and Arabs, but the observing of groups... that's..

K: So, did you feel that there was any sense of identification, while listening, that a sense of identification could be created... did you feel it was created but then didn't go anywhere... or had no continuation...

H: At times

K: At times

H: Now we're... the group in Hadar... it was in the spring... just before the Second Lebanon War, and it took a few months but, finally, we called up some of the people to see if the contact between Arabs and Jews had remained... it was complicated, we did it with the municipality and they wanted us to include Ethiopian Jews and Russian Jews in the group with the Arabs... it was awful... in addition, at the last minute they asked me to include one of the collaborators on the side of the Arabs, so I told them I'm not getting into issues of who's right and who is not right.... it's just something that prevents success....

K: Yes

H: And I'm against it, it's a difficult group, very complex, and group whose basis is that there is no identification, but apparently during the war there was some contact between the Jews and the...

K: There was some contact

H: Yes

K: That you can see as an achievement

H: Yes, I don't think it was very intimate, it was just, hello, how are you, how's your son in the army...

K: And the Israelis also made contact?

H: I don't know who initiated it, who called who

K: OK

H: The impression was that there was some kind of contact and what was very obvious was that when we approached them after the war, they very much wanted to come back to the group.

K: Really?

H: Yes, their motivation was much higher

K: And did you feel that they were different, the Israelis, after the war?

H: Again, details like that I don't really know, I talk in generalizations... there was willingness on both sides to return to the group, but it wasn't all that strong, maybe they created a group, I don't know, but our group didn't continue, maybe there was a continuation, but with other groups and another staff.

K: OK, now about the Israelis, are you optimistic? in the context of the Palestinians, in reference to the conflict, their attitudes towards the Palestinians...

H: I can see small groups of people, who I feel have some kind of leadership, and it gives me a certain sense of optimism, but in general, I don't want to... I can't see how we're going to end up with all this...

I'm at an age that I'd like to see an end to it... it's been the framework of my life, when I was younger... I made Aliyah on the 5th of June as a volunteer, against everyone's wishes... I just volunteered...

K: What year?

H: In '67

K: Ah! ...

H: Just before the war began... Now I have children and grandchildren living in Israel and I'd like to see the end of it, but I don't see how... just one failure after another, after another and no leadership on either side that... and I thought something a little perverse about how they always talk about the De Gaulle phenomenon, that between the two sides they support each other in their failures and that weak leaders will somehow support each other, the deaf and the lame, Abaras and Olmert, and somehow something will come of it... but nonsense... nothing comes out of it and now I don't have the slightest faith that there's anything good in Abaras... I saw how when things began to be tense, he pushed both buttons... the ones that blow up any chance of talking... one day he blamed the Jews of being terrorists...

K: Yes

H: And the next day he said that the Holocaust was "ours and not yours"

K: OK

H: The man knows how to... he uses the Holocaust... so a politician says things that show that he really has no interest in being a leader for peace

H: So, where were we...

K: You were saying that you don't see Abaras as a...

H: No

K: No hope from that quarter

H: Nor from Olmert either

K: Is there any politician in Israel that can give hope?

H: No

K: No?

H: No, I can't see any, for example, even the mistakes that were made, the internal ones... I really can't stand Peres, who made more of an attempt for peace, but the man was just plain stupid with his whole model of peace for technology... some sort of technological revolution... it was... I would meet him when I was in Israel... I was a member of his "kitchen cabinet", so every time we'd arrive to give him some advice, he'd begin to talk about Virginia Wolf... last night I.... yesterday I read Virginia Woolf... what nonsense... and the same kind of nonsense that he supposedly refers to technology, but more relative to what we're talking about is that the man never referred to the settlers as human beings... and mind you, I'm no right winger... and I have no great love for settlers... I'd be very happy if they'd simply go away... but it was a policy of the left, just as it was a policy of the right... and the man just didn't feel he had to, somehow, just apologize, though I'm not big on apologies, but you have to say we made a mistake, we used you, the policy of the state was a mistake and we... we owe you, but we have to end this, you have to give up your claims...

Things like this have happened before, even 10 years ago, but particularly 20 and 30 years ago, before the sides became so insistent, somehow it would have been beneficial, that's what I would have suggested, but it didn't happen and now, who knows what can help...

K: Do you see any changes as far as defenses in Israeli society, as far as the way they perceive Palestinians, their attitudes...

H: Well the change that I think, maybe, was due to Sharon, is that we can live on this volcano and nevertheless achieve a stage of amazing normalcy... what interests me is that life goes on and everything is a minor interruption and people get adjusted... maybe that's because the defenses are so effective...but...my children and all their friends somehow succeed, they're flourishing by any measure, they're enjoying life, and doing very interesting things...

K: In the context of the conflict or with no connection to it....?

H: No, just like that... (chuckling)

H: My eldest daughter lives in Jaffa and she really takes the whole neighborhood into consideration... she's a leader and wants to build a school for Jews and Arabs, but she's very realistic, and the Arabs she's in touch with are mostly Christians rather than Moslems and... well...

K: And she's an American Jew, if I'm not mistaken...

H: Yes, and most of her time now, well, she, they've started a farm for organic food....

K: Of Jews and Palestinians?

H: No, no

K: OK, just Israelis

H: To eat, 25 shekels a month for a week and more, something very nice and the kibbutzim that don't manage... and they don't manage... but anyway, they'll work their lands, unless they have any kind of agriculture, so they rent out the land cheaply, they do a favor to the kibbutzniks who want to work in

high-tech instead of agriculture and they do organic food. They started out because they wanted organic food for themselves... and all kinds of things... my younger daughter is really high-tech, at a very high level, very successful, she's as successful as she would be anywhere, she's the top of tops... but it's all normal, everything is normal...

I go there and I worry about the bomb shelters, you know, I'm happy they're in Tel Aviv, but I wish they'd live in Jerusalem, because the chances of bombs are less than they'd be in Tel Aviv.

K: So you think about it, but you feel that they don't think about it?

H: I think that they have nightmares and they worry, but they don't talk about it in my daughter's family, it's evident in the fact that my daughter doesn't want her husband to go to the reserves... she didn't grow up with this kind of preparation, the reflex of this being automatic, a part of family life

K: He's Israeli

H: He's Israeli, I was with her last year, when there was the mobilization, two years ago when there was the mobilization and I was in India and I came back for three days.

You know, she had no way of coping, she's not prone to any kind of hysteria or anything, but that her husband was going away to the army, this was a catastrophe and I thought it was a catastrophe also.

You know I would have loved to kidnap him...

I think that there are more and more people, who feel that their personal lives are more important, or maybe the small groups that... and maybe there's a kind of hope in this... maybe it will happen to the other side too... it's what my teacher Hannah Arendt says that war gets settled through exhaustion, when people get tired of fighting...

We see signs now that people are very tired and don't want to wage war...

K: Amongst the Israelis? You can see this exhaustion?

H: I can feel it, I'm sure that amongst the more ideological sectors of society, for example the settlers, it doesn't exist, but maybe their normalcy is deeper, I don't know, but normalcy itself is a kind of defense mechanism... you know, lets lead a normal life and not worry about such things...

K: So really the defense mechanism in the context of society, like with a private person, is kind of tricky... it has two sides, one that protects you and lets you lead a normal life and develop and do other things. On the other hand, it distorts reality, doesn't give you... blocks you.... from taking other avenues of progress....

H: People without defense mechanisms don't necessarily flourish

K: True

H: One has to evaluate the, I don't know what, um... the criteria... defense mechanism have to be somewhat engaging in reality, but not too much engaging in reality, I guess that's what the literature on defense mechanisms is all about

K: And where, on this scale, between the benefits that they give us as Israelis, and the price that we pay for using them, where do things stand?

H: When you think that there's something to be done with the Arabs, so you lose opportunities, the defense mechanisms are no good if you feel any kind of despair, I think you always have to follow the opportunities, to see what tomorrow will bring, what's doing in the Moslem world... it's these kind of things that I look for and that's why I'm so preoccupied with the whole issue, I hope that in Israel too, the researchers... for example, I heard... in September I read in "Ha'aretz" that there's a group of 150 businessmen in Nablus who were having a weekend to organize... what's the name of the main party now... uh...

K: Kadima

H: Kadima, yes, they wanted to organize a Palestinian Kadima and they emphasized the name, that they were using the name... so I thought that was really something... not only that there were people who wanted to use the name... or identify with the dilemma of... and they're not afraid that someone will.... but I never heard about it again...

K: Was it Israeli families?

H: No

K: No, the families that...

H: The Palestinians, yes...I'm involved with a group called "combaps for peace", several Palestinian terrorists, actually children of the first Intifada who threw stones and did time in jail for a few years and Israeli fighters who don't want to go into the territories, they continue to do reserve duty, but refuse duty in the territories and they get together and so... who knows....

K: What do you see happening in this group, of these soldiers, do you see regret? You see...what?

H: I have heard regret

K: You did hear regret

H: From the Jews I hear regret and the Palestinians also... I've heard the sentiment that terrorism doesn't work, it hasn't gotten us any place.... lets... but the Jews too... that holding the territories hasn't been beneficial...

K: Do you feel any kind of guilt that the fighters are carrying with them?

H: Yes, they reject things they've seen, or maybe that they've done, but they don't see it as intentional, that we'll rule over the Arabs and be righteous... it happened that we did terrible things and stories about the atrocities that soldiers do....

K: Do you think that their volunteering to participate in such a group is part of their healing?

H: Yes, they feel guilty, but also the intention of doing something for the future, similar to the group of bereaved parents

K: You have groups like that too?

H: Where, in Israel, yes, yes

K: And what happens there?

H: It's a very problematic organization, again, there are some Jews with their own agendas, but there are also those Jews and Arabs who have lost children, who decide to get together instead of to hate each other... and that's a good thing...

K: It's amazing

H: Yes, haven't you heard about it

K: I have

H: I think there was something like that at Brandeis, well, that's that... so what else can I say to you?

K: So there, if I might say, is maybe a place of optimism.

H: Yes, it's a very small thing, but if that's possible, that parents can do something like that, well, it's something...

K: If they are able to do it, after losing the most...

H: So, we continue, what else can we do... grant applications, all that nonsense for groups, individuals, just a few but...

K: Individuals who participate?

H: In our groups, yes...

K: The response is not too great?

H: We're able to reach, maybe hundreds, not thousands, not tens of thousands, but even if we can reach hundreds, it will be something, maybe something will result from these people...

K: And to get grants for running such things - is it easier?

H: Very difficult

K: Very difficult

H: Particularly with the Jewish community here, they just don't want to put money into things like this

K: Because it involves Arabs too?

H: Yes

K: And if it were just for Israelis, do you think it would be easier to collect contributions?

H: I don't know... here I'm... for years there's been a connection between the community here and in Haifa

K: Oh, they...

H: I was active in projects and we felt that it should be for all the citizens of Haifa, including the Arabs, and in the last two years, all the Arabs were dismissed... all the groups that handled it... that's a political question, you don't deal with political questions, we just deal with social work questions...

K: Are you a Zionist?

H: I think that Zion is important, but I'm not a member of any party, and I, I had lots of opportunities to make Aliyah, even now, I have two daughters, of three children, living there, but I'm not rushing to come to Israel. I love to visit my children, but even they are not ideological, it's all lifestyle issues... they're happy to be in Israel, they have good jobs, but they dream about mobility, they work with mobility and they are partners in business, they want to open here, and there ... they started off with agriculture... they wanted to open vanilla farms in India, they have a cosmopolitan sense, they live in a globalized economy, I mean, I do too...

K: They had a good example

H: The incredible thing was, they wanted to do agriculture in India and they asked me if by any chance I knew a lawyer in this small place in India, and I just happened to know two lawyers there....

K: (laughing)

H: This whole network of... they blame me for everything... how parents have to travel to see their children because we used to travel so much

K: Those are good accusations

H: Yes, yes, yes... Is there anything on the theoretical side that I can help you with, about all these questions? though any person in the street would tell you the same thing

K: Not really, you'd be surprised...

H: I really don't have anything new to tell you

K: Actually, I did get something new, and also, I've already interviewed someone else and there are some things you said that I can see a common thread... mainly about exhaustion...

H: Hmmm

K: If you think about anything else you can tell me in a theoretical context, or maybe you can direct me to read something, or...

H: It's not really, though I did study psychology, and psycho-analytic theories... it's not really my field, you know certainly, the whole topic of projection, that we didn't even get to that stage and it's mostly pathological and not effective...

K: But I wanted to ask you, you said that you have used role playing or role reversal in your groups?

H: Role playing and role reversal

K: And how do you see it working?

H: I see that both are very powerful methods... I did de-briefings... and it can be very powerful...

K: Really?

H: Yes, we used it in Amsterdam, where there was this superb Moslem politician, a real leader, and we did role playing and she insisted on playing the role of a Jewish woman, she wanted to understand how a Jewish woman would think... so it was very good...

K: Really? It was very meaningful?

H: Yes, yes, she was truly a remarkable woman, I'll give you an example of her success, she's Moroccan from the mountains of... she's Berber, from the Atlas mountains... all the Moslem women in Amsterdam, they all identify with her, Har Fatima, they all know she's not Turkish, she's much loved and much burdened by all kinds of people following after her, but she's incredible

She asked me a few weeks ago... she fell in love with this man and for about a year she's been thinking of marrying him and she asked me if I would be the rabbi and make the "kedushim" (Jewish marriage ceremony) and she knows there are 7 blessings and she wants me to recite the 7 blessings at her wedding...

K: And you agreed?

H: I told her that if she hadn't asked me I would have been very depressed

K: (Laughing)

H: I would be very sad not to be at her wedding, of course I agreed

K: Is he Jewish?

H: No

K: No? She just wants the blessings, Well, I guess she's right ...(laughing)

H: Things like this are complicated in Israel... for Jews and Arabs to think in such terms... but for her it was natural....

K: Yes...

K: Is there any written material on your groups?

H: Yes, on our web page... that's the best, you'll find summaries of our methodologies... well, I have some students coming a little after one, so...

K: That's fine....

Nir Eisikovitz

Keren: Tell me something about your connection to the conflict.

Nir: My connection, like that of most Israelis, comes from 4 years in the army, mostly in a combat unit in "Golani", so I got a picture of things from pretty close up, but I started to think about things a little more deeply when I came here. I was released from the army in 94 and was in a reserves infantry battalion until 98-99. I started looking for a place to do my doctorate, and to think about a topic. I decided to do my doctorate on political philosophy and the philosophy of law. I began to take a closer look at theoretical aspects of reconciliation processes and conflict resolution; how to define reconciliation and how groups act after war to cope with the past. At some point, when I started a methodical study of the history of the conflict, I was here and not there. It was the first time that I began to read the history from a much more objective perspective. I understood that there is more than just the history of the nation of Israel that I had learned in high school. So I wrote my doctorate on the significance of reconciliation between groups and what kind of policy, after the war, can harm it and what can promote it. I compared the laws relevant to war, like those in Nuremberg, with softer processes such as reconciliation committees, called "commissions" in South Africa. So you'd have to say that my connection to our conflict was that I lived it mainly through my army experience (background voices on recording not connected to interview)

Keren: Yes

Nir: So my connection with the conflict is that I lived it mainly through the army and I don't think I was very political, it's not so... like many people I didn't have any special hatred for the other side, but I didn't really see them at all. I think that my political acuity developed mainly here. I voted Meretz etc, etc, but I don't think that I gave it too much thought. Now I do think about it and...

Keren: And what did you find out when you got here and started to explore it from afar. What did you hear when you started to investigate the objective truth and not only what...?

Nir: I found out that the other side has well-developed, competitive perceptions of history and an interpretation of historical events. I read lots of materials in many mediums about how people on the other side really, truly live on a daily basis and not just declarative principles. I discovered that it makes a real difference for people on both sides to have at least some recognition by the other side of what's going on, what in English is called acknowledgment. When that takes place, even if you recognize that bad things are happening to someone else, or that some incident happened to the other side, even if you don't say anything about the moral aspects of what happened, it still has enormous transformative significance, from the mere fact that you can agree about what happened.

Keren: So now, you're saying this because actually maybe you can say that the way we grew up, if we link it to a certain type of history that we learned or didn't learn, but there wasn't too much acknowledgement?

Nir: No, no, I think that what happened was a very long and very psychological process of not seeing people standing a foot away from you, a skateboard ride away. It's quite amazing how you're able, and by the way, I kind of think that very similar things happen on the other side, but still, because we're mostly interested in ourselves, it's really quite amazing, I think. How we manage to teach an entire nation, who usually, by their very nature, love to stick their noses into other people's business, we teach them to remove their noses completely from certain places. And by the way, it's also true historically about every single place of ethnic conflict world-wide.

Keren: We aren't unique in this?

Nir: No, the very same thing happened in South Africa, the same in North Ireland. You can just teach people not to see what is happening under their very noses.

Keren: You think there's a difference?

Nir: Yes, to a certain extent I think there's a difference. It's really quite stupid on my part to say that there's a difference, because I'm not living there at the moment, but from anecdotal evidence – yes. There are "grass roots" movements that are mainly interested in learning about the conditions of life on the other side. I don't think that it's become a common thing yet, but it's surely more than when we were growing up. All kinds of movements like "Machsom Watch" and people who, from curiosity want to see what's happening at the blockades, for example or, how the life conditions are there. I think that political awareness begins from curiosity and not really from principles.

Keren: Do you see it more as intellectual curiosity and less as human interest?

Nir: I think that that's where it starts. I think, and this is one of the things I've written about, and still writing about, I think that most of the time, in most cases when we do the wrong thing, in most cases when we injure people, it's from a lack of seeing the details of what their lives look like because of what we are doing. It's not necessarily from a desire to hurt them. A silly example would be – if you're taking public transportation here and it's quite crowded, because it's "rush-hour", and an old lady with bags from the store is standing there. You can see the veins on her legs and she's sweating and huffing and puffing, and if you don't get up to give her a seat, most likely it's because you haven't seen her, or if you've seen her, haven't paid it any attention. You were thinking about what was happening at work, about this and that. I think that in the overwhelming majority of cases, you if did manage to pay attention, and you managed to shift your attention from yourself and to notice her, you would probably, if you've been raised in the least bit normally, you'd probably get up and let her sit down; which made me think that most of the problem starts with the ability to pay attention.

Keren: Do you mean the man in the street or of policy makers?

Nir: Of regular people

Keren: Regular people....

Nir: And the minute you pay attention, it's much more difficult to carry on certain behaviors. There are types of behaviors that are impossible without moral blindness. That depend on the ability to just not see people, and the moment you begin to see people, you can't go on with certain types of behavior. On the whole, I believe that it's an explanation for a large part of what happened to combat soldiers who decided that they were no longer ready to serve... Like my good friend Rami Kaplan, one of the founders of the "Courage to Refuse" – he's not a person who fought all his life for exalted moral principles. He was a tank commander enough time to see things in Gaza and the West Bank, and he just went on seeing them, not due to any extreme left wing opinions, he just wasn't able to go on doing it...

Keren: As a human being?

Nir: Yes, but what I want to say is, that it's not that he first has some abstract principle that guides his behavior, like the writing on the wall... it's that he doesn't have too many abstract principles. When you're exposed, if you let yourself be exposed, the mere fact of exposure decides how you will act. The big question is one of exposure or non-exposure, more than a question of your principles.

Keren: So how, actually, can the regular people get exposed, there's the army, like you've said, someone who serves in the army can be exposed, but how else?

Nir: First of all, most of the common people just stick their heads in the sand. One thing that can help or not help is more objective mass communications, to report on the life conditions of the other side. But in Israel, there are only two journalists who regularly and precisely report on conditions on the other side. One of them is Gideon Levi. When Hani Gerditi blew up in Matza Restaurant on the Haifa coastline and killed people that you and I know, after several weeks "Ha'aretz" newspaper published a profile on her, which gave part of her historical background, and many people cancelled their subscriptions. No one justified her, no one said that that's what should be done; they merely put it in context. The context is there – her fiancée was killed by Israelis, her cousin was killed by Israelis. Now, I would like to believe that if my fiancée and my cousin were killed by Israelis, it wouldn't cause me to go and blow myself up, so I still can understand that what she did was horrific, but not to know the context is not to know what happened. If you really want to get angry, and rage, then at least know what you're getting angry about. It's very rare that the context is exposed in the media in Israel. The media in Israel mainly like to show, if you've looked at Yedioth (newspaper) in the last week, a huge picture on the first page of a commander whose leg was cut off and he nevertheless returned to his unit. In Yedioth, there is nothing about everyday conditions. So one of the main means of exposure is the electronic media, written and photographed, but there is nothing in mainstream and Israeli communications and non-mainstream communications are regarded with the suspicion of disloyalty. So how can people be exposed? They can go there, they can go to the army; they can try to contact normal people who live on the other side.

Keren: And what's the chance of that happening? Let's be realistic...

Nir: Very little, very, very little

Keren: Are you optimistic or pessimistic?

Nir: No, no, no, I'm not optimistic at all. About the Arab/Israeli conflict, I'm not optimistic at all. I'm not optimistic because there are radicalization processes on either side, which are completely detached from each other. I think that the perpetuation of the situation is not entirely our fault...

Keren: That's obvious...

Nir: I think that there are trends in the Arab world that reject any Western perspectives that prefer life in this world to life in the next world, and sometimes, no matter how much we try, this won't change. There are parts of the Palestinian public and parts of our public that are committed to this kind of extremism, and it's not true that if we only change economic conditions and only make sure that everyone has XXXX and work from 9-5, then there will be a revolution and people will really understand that it's much "cooler" to watch LOST on T.V. Even normal people, secular, not extremists, have a real need to be a part of something larger than themselves. So for sure, this is true of people who aren't secular. I think that.. So no, I'm not optimistic. I think that the combination of this, and the geographical factors, "on the ground" as they say, make it very, very difficult. If you wander around the borderline areas between the West Bank and Jerusalem, the geographical solution of two countries for two peoples, for some kind of normal separation, appears to be impossible. And the solution of a one-nation country – besides the fact that most people on both sides don't want it – is very frightening. I'd never want my children to live in a one-nation country with the Palestinians. Not because I don't want them as neighbors, but because of the knowledge of the amount of non-proportional power held by extreme parties on both sides – it just seems too dangerous a risk. I don't think that they'd give me the right to live how I want to, or that I would give them the right to live how they want to, so it's just a time bomb. So no, I'm not optimistic. I think that... it's really part of what I've started working on lately, I think that the traditional dichotomies between war and peace have lost their relevance. There are terms that really exist in Islamic thinking, that don't exist in our thinking – like ceasefire, or respite or interlude. We tend to see an interlude something that is almost, by its very definition, short term, and if it doesn't last more than a short time, it's a failure – a failure in policy making. I think it's worthwhile to consider these terms more seriously. To develop our own way of thinking about these respites and to see if they can be promoted, because I don't see any greater chance of promoting peace processes.

Keren: Do you see any such beginnings in our society?

Nir: To a certain extent, people are more ready than in the past to think in terms of "Hudna" and "Tahadia", so that's a start. And I think that in a way, a large part of the Hamas took the Hudna and the Tahadia seriously, it wasn't only a stunt to gain time and achieve more weaponry and dig themselves in deeper. It was also that, but not only.

Keren: In other words, we can take the term and not only think of it as a trick used to gain time to prepare for the next war, but maybe that's...

Nir: The fact that people don't die and the fact that it's quiet has a dynamic all of its own. It may be that this dynamic could lead to people having more of a stake in continuing the quiet. Part of the "stake" is that for the first time, they can develop relationships with their children, or with their spouses, that are not only based on preventing death or coping with difficulties. This can lead to a positive "snowball

effect"; a process of escalation that I don't see, because almost by definition, escalation seems only to go in a bad direction.

Keren: How do you accomplish this? How does it take root?????

Nir: I think that it's like you like to say in your field – one day at a time. You try to see to it that for long periods of time, people just don't die. You don't talk about justice, you don't talk about peace, and you don't talk about a symbolic or non-symbolic right of return of the refugees. You make it your goal for example that in the next two weeks we'll try to see to it that no one is injured more than a slight injury; let's try to make sure that our methods of demonstration control use less and less rubber balls and more stink bombs. You convey this commitment to the other side and try to see if you can find some kind of common ground on this level. You don't agree about our right to be here, you don't even agree to the terminology of "rights", you don't think there can be a Jewish state – OK, let's agree not to agree about 90% of the things, but let's just agree that people won't die in the next few months. And if people don't die for two years, in which we manage to keep to a certain level, then little by little, maybe we'll start to develop other things. Instead, you usually see the opposite direction with us. First of all, address the things that there's no change of closing to the satisfaction of both side and then we wonder that the whole things explodes.

Keren: I understand. So, instead of starting with the discussion on Jerusalem, start the discussion on how we get through the next month.

Nir: Yes, and don't think that if that's what we're discussing that it's an indication of failure. It's only an indication of the fact that life here is intolerable and let's try to make it more tolerable. To see what can grow from a grass roots movement, rather than the other way round, or something like that.

Keren: And is this what you would call a reconciliation policy?

Nir: No

Keren: Not yet...

Nir: I don't think that reconciliation is the order of the day now. In general, reconciliation is quite rare at the international level. I think that even in South Africa there wasn't reconciliation, though they decided to abstain from war and revenge and they pardoned anyone who came and confessed to the committee about what they had done... and even that is not reconciliation.

Keren: It's still much more developed than what's happening with us.

Nir: Yes

Keren: Do you see something like what happened in South Africa possible for us?

Nir: No, because the division of responsibility in South Africa was much more explicit than with us today. There were good people and bad people; with us, it's much more either all good or all bad. It doesn't matter, but it's the kind of conflict, like in Zimbabwe, where everyone is like everyone else and when it

happens, I think it's a pretty good question to ask whether there's even any reason to make accounts for the past. You did this and this to us..... and this kind of contradicts the need for acknowledgement, because acknowledgment is meant, among other things, to be about what you did to the other side in the past, but also what the other side did to you in the past. So, you many want to be a little like Oded from our grocery in Givatayim, and keep a running account that I'll give you a little acknowledgement if you'll give me a little acknowledgement, for example - you acknowledge how you threw all the Eastern Jews out of Arab countries and we acknowledge the Air Force bombings in Gaza, or, you acknowledge that Arafat's and Fatah's declared policy was to harm citizens. There's no end to it you know, no end. So, for this reason I don't know if there's any relevance to models like South Africa, that are somewhat based on psychological processes and not only practical ones. However, on the other hand, I think that there may be a danger in aiming too high, there may be a danger in saying that the only way to get to the next stage is only to attain something tangible in Camp David; some claim to a final end, a final peace and justice. Because then it's as if you reach the conclusion that there's no chance this will happen. More or less what you brought to Camp David is what you take away from Camp David. We tried to put the end of the conflict on the table and there was no one to talk to; the only alternative to the complete end of conflict is the continuation of war. So, though that may sound "down to earth", what if it's not that dichotomous? What if there are a million and one other possibilities on the scale between the two extremes? In the best case, I think that if we have any chance, it's something somewhere ranging between the two poles.

Keren: We're nearly through with this "respite". Whose responsibility do you think it is to keep it going?

Nir: Good question, good question, for a respite, you need two sides, but it does seem that there's willingness on the other side.

Keren: And with us – do you see it as the job of the government?

Nir: Ultimately, yes...

Keren: Do you think it can?

Nir: Well now we're hitting on some of the policy problems in Israeli politics. It can't because the political system in Israel is not stable enough to go on doing it. In other words there isn't enough power to the executive branch of the government in Israel; it changes about every two years at the most. That's how it is in Italy too. The government is not stable and that's OK if you're dealing with the kind of problems they have in Italy, but less OK if your country is perpetually in crisis. So I, for one, think that Israel would benefit from a presidential regime for at least some years, for say, twenty years. Look at Bush, for example, nearly the greatest folly in the history of the United States – but he got 8 years, and wasted them, but if he were just a little more intelligent, for example, if Obama gets elected, there's a chance he can fix something, because he has at least 4 years and he knows it's likely that he won't get pushed out, unless he really does something horrible that would lead to his being impeached. So in this sense, to really get things done, there needs to be some kind of pressure from underneath, but it also takes policy in order for it to happen.

Keren: And can you say that with the spirit of Israeli society, if there is such a thing at the moment, and anyway it's so multi-layered, so do you think it's possible? As a society...?

Nir: What are you asking? Whether we can develop such an interlude/respice?

Keren: Yes, can we develop...?

Nir: It's a good question. I think we can, if we can explain to people that it's a pragmatic mechanism, so then I think, maybe yes. As far as I can see, people are obsessed with two concepts - either a bi-national state or two states for two nations. I'm pretty sure that neither of them can happen. I don't think there can be a bi-national state, because even someone like me recoils at the very idea and I'm very left of center, and I can see how others in this position also flinch at such a possibility. On the other hand, it seems to me quite naïve to think that there can be a two country solution. I think we missed this "train" for at least a few decades. Practically, it seems very, very hard to carry out. So I think we have to let go of this idea for a long time. But, what we don't understand is that to forgo such a solution doesn't automatically mean genocide, or mass death on both sides. There's also a psychological side to it that's quite interesting. We talk about being at peace with ourselves as a psychological ideal, to be at peace with yourself. However, if you look at this more closely, than most people are not at ease with themselves 99% of the time; nor are they totally at war with themselves either. They take a time out with themselves, which in all likelihood, at their most optimistic moments, they know that somewhere between two and seven years, a different, less fortunate cycle of their lives will emerge. So what would happen if we'd take this psychological standard and change being at peace with ourselves to a cease-fire with ourselves?

Keren: That's a really good idea...

Nir: If it makes sense at the psychological level, so why can't it be a coherent possibility at the political level? So I don't know if it's optimistic or pessimistic, but that's what I think.

Keren: You have written about reconciliation policy, about how it's possible...

Nir: Yes, I wrote about it and I stopped. After I had written the book, I stopped believing that it was a relevant term. It was important for me to understand what reconciliation was...

Keren: And what do you really think it means?

Nir: It's going beyond any formal explanations, that is, beyond any question of who is entitled to what, which is what the formal aspects involve and the addition of some kind of psychological element. Now the biggest question is the psychological one, that is, the mere fact that you nail down all the formal elements doesn't yet lead you to reconcile with him. For example, we cemented all kinds of formal affairs with Egypt in 1977, but we still haven't reconciled with them. So clearly, there's something involved that's beyond the formal, and the question is what it is. Some suggestions were "forgiveness" and yet I think that there are good reasons that it's not forgiveness – that you don't have to forgive someone in order to be reconciled with them. Other suggestions involved learning to forget, but I think there are good reasons why that's not it. So what I wrote in my book was that the most likely candidate

for the psychological dimension is something that in the past they called sympathy and now they call empathy - the ability to imagine how the world looks from someone else's perspective. If you couple this ability with formal arrangements then I think you can...well that's the minimum level of reconciliation. If, in addition, you can give someone something that belongs to him, and I think that sometimes this is a huge achievement, and I don't belittle it at all, it also shows you how things look from his perspective, then you have reconciled with him. As I see it in our context, we're still very far from the formal aspects, not to mention, the psychological aspects.

Keren: So reconciliation is too far away, it's reaching too far?

Nir: Yes, at this stage I would say so.

Keren: And to return once more to a respite? If I understood correctly, then an active respite can lead to a change in the mental state or a change in understanding?

Nir: Yes, yes, yes, it can lead people to claim a stake in continuing more and more of a respite for starters. One or two months quiet can make people remember that there's a different kind of life. It makes people, after, let's say, half a year, rediscover their joie de vivre and after a year, let's say, it makes people think they deserve a life that contains joy and after a year and a half, they can get very annoyed at people who threaten to disrupt the quiet in which they can play with their children; in which they can sit out in a coffee shop, in which they can start to work again. It's the kind of things that start from the roots that somehow can create a commitment to the continuation of quiet. In other words, to make an attempt to take the process of escalation and turn it around to escalate the quiet – and after that, we'll see....

Keren: And where do you put acknowledgement into this process?

Nir: At the end, not at the beginning. It may be that as a trust-building step, a symbolic act of acknowledgement on the part of a leader at the beginning, but not as a demand to turn it into policy, not by a long shot as a demand for policy.

Keren: Do you think that in our society, amongst the Israelis, if there's quiet for a while, this "respite", a tangibly felt calm for an extended period, do you think it will be easier to teach or to begin such a process of acknowledgement?

Nir: It will be easier for people to be able to see what's happening to the other side. Because when you're quiet, and calmer, then you can pay attention.

Keren: How would you teach, and notice I'm using the word teach...

Nir: A change in educational programs, a change in various communications channels that expose people to life on the other side, a translation of literature, a little more normally, but not even to teach...you're right, even I think that the process could happen on its own, if there were several years of quiet for both sides, if there were years of concrete improvements at the level of the quality of life of both sides.

Keren: What would cause such a thing to happen?

Nir: What would cause such a thing to happen on its own....? The mere fact that quiet makes people quiet.... It's like Maslow's pyramid of needs that you're always talking about. The minute that your basic needs are satisfied, you can pay attention to slightly higher needs; you can pay attention to what is happening to other people. What would make people want to accept a policy of truce? I think mainly exhaustion. I don't think that we're tired enough. A combination – I think that in almost every place that there was any kind of progress, it was a combination of tiredness on both sides; people got exhausted; there was a leader with some kind of courage and sufficient external pressure. I think that we're close to the first element, there's quite a bit of tiredness. We don't have too much luck with the second element – because it's quite a rare occurrence historically that there should be leaders with courage on both sides simultaneously. And the third element is a catastrophe, because the Americans will never pressure us. In North Ireland there was huge American pressure and an embargo by the Americans and the Europeans on South Africa. That would never, never happen with us. The minute it would, I think you would see some movement.

Keren: It's interesting, because that idea about tiredness, if I translate it into psychological terms implying the attrition of the defense mechanisms, then it's a concept that has emerged in all my interviews.

Nir: Yes, and it's a very true concept; it's very true. But it's not enough just to be tired. I think that it's a psychological condition for individuals in the population, but it must be followed by a political channel – it must have its own political conditions (talk in the background) I don't know if I have given you....

Keren: You've given me a great deal. When you talk about our educational programs (unclear sentence).... On the other side they are non-existent. If I translate it into mechanisms of denial, it just doesn't exist, on the other side it doesn't exist at all...

Nir: It's also non-existent in our communications media. For example, there was a series of T.V. reports on the civilian war in Gaza last summer; there was nothing, not a single thing on how life is conducted there, and that was what's important for us. Nothing, we completely ignored what was happening. The ability to totally ignore what people are doing with the tax monies you pay – just five kilometers from your house, it's quite an incredible pathology. It really amazes me, mostly on the psychological level, this ability to "not see".

Keren: Do you think it mainly serves us or mainly harms us?

Nir: I don't know; I don't really know what is better. It's a lowly defense mechanism that either serves you or harms you. I think that in the long term, it mainly harms you. (an unclear sentence with interruptions....)

Keren: You said you had stopped being such an extreme leftist?

Nir: Yes, just like I stopped thinking about (something unclear)... I decided to focus on just finding a way that will help less people die for as long a period as possible.

Keren: And you don't think that the extreme left is what will make this happen?

Nir: No

Keren: So...

Nir: So I think that what will make it happen is if both sides can physically see that their children are very sad and that an entire life is being destroyed and that what they're clinging to is principles. If there's any way to reduce the damages over a long period, even if it means not focusing on the rights of the other side, then I think it should be a priority.

Keren: This sounds like a process of disillusionment...

Nir: Yes, yes... again, similar to a process of disillusionment that happens on the psychological level, I believe that at 22 you're extremely sure of yourself and its only when your try to do exactly as you'd like to do at an older age, that you start to war with yourself....

Keren: So you'd say make a cease-fire with yourself...

Nir: Yes, a long term cease-fire with yourself. In my opinion, this can happen on a psychological level and it can happen on a political level.

Keren: OK. You have any other thoughts to bring this to closure?

Nir: No, I don't think so.

Keren: Thank you very much.

Zvi Lachman

Keren: Once again, thanks so much. If you could start by telling me about your perspective of the conflict; the way you understand it, from the psychological aspects of Israeli society, and less from apolitical/historical angle; how we arrived at where we now are.

Zvi: Maybe I'll begin with a story from one of the journals that my father wrote. My father arrived in Israel in 1925 at the age of 18, from Poznan, Galicia. He came from a religious, Chassidic background. So, when he arrived in Israel he was exposed to another world and left the world of religion. It was part of what was being built here, let's say during the third, fourth and fifth "aliyot" (waves of immigration). In 37' he joined Kibbutz Sadeh Nachum in the Beit She'an Valley and was given various jobs, but the segment that I want to tell you about is associated with plowing; the work of plowing that was done in the very early hours of the morning; one morning at dawn. He describes the tractor he was riding and the Arab "Falach" (peasant) in the nearby field on a wooden horse-driven plow. While he was plowing, he was thinking about the Arab peasant who could see him turning the land over easily with his tractor, while he himself was straggling behind with his plow. He talks about the negative feelings that the peasant must have in light of this gap between them; the frustration about being in this position, where... and my father, while plowing, feels like he would like to make the peasant feel good, and he stops the tractor and treats himself to a couple of sandwiches, and watches how the peasant passes him, and seems to take on a kind of pride, the sense of "look here, we've won out against this monster of technology", as my father describes the tractor through the eyes of the peasant. Now, this is only a very small incident, but the end of this entry in his journal, when he returns to the Kibbutz, he says to himself, (and remember, we're talking about 37-38 – before many of the things that later happened during the conflict between both sides)... he says to himself, that the only way we'll be able to meet or

find a way to live alongside each other, will be if we find the way to bridge that gap, and, in, fact, he's quite skeptical that we'll ever be able to do that...

I start with this segment, because I believe it's symptomatic of so many things that have taken place within the conflict. Personally, both my father's family and my mother's family were never harmed directly. Let's say that in my father's family it was third or fourth degree relatives who were victims, but no one really close. Their father was a Zionist, and they were 11 brothers, who brought each other to Israel. They were all here way before the story of WWII, so none of them was directly harmed during the war. At home, I never had direct contact with close relatives who were victims. But I think that the whole story of the second WW, and everything that this implies, on the one hand, even though I was born afterwards... in the period in which I was born, there was a very harsh attitude towards foreignness; towards an exile mentality, so that there was an attempt to be strong, to build a new world.... I think that these attitudes ran very deep, and to a large extent forged the structure of Israeli society, and allowed us, within a very short time – and we're talking about 100-120 years at the most – to build a nation. I'm not talking about only the formal establishment of the State, but from the day there began to be more massive "aliyot" (immigration waves). There is no doubt that it's very amazing what we have managed to create in this short time span; it's the biggest wonder of the twentieth century in some ways, if we look at it in retrospect. But there was a heavy price to pay; many things that, in order to "make a muscle", to do what they had to do, they had to turn their backs on... to deny... things like roots. They had to cut a lot of roots to enable the new plant to acclimate in the new soil and to grow at the rate that it grew. But I think that if you cut off the roots, some of it intentional, even as far as language... I was the youngest son in the family, my brothers and sisters are much older than I am. When they were young, only Hebrew was spoken at home. At that time it was taboo to speak any other language. When I was born, they used to speak Yiddish with each other at times; they themselves, emotionally, could go back and connect to things that they had denied for so many years, in order to be

part of what was being created, to be part of what was taking shape. Again, I think that they are only an example of many, many people, who due to ideology, due to this perspective of having to build something new, something big, all the ideas and thoughts that were so common here, communism and all kinds of thoughts of that kind...the thought of creating something new. I think that in Israel this took place in a most extreme fashion, with a whole society, and not only specific factions or parties like in other countries where they were enmeshed in many more cultural spaces, so there was, let's say, a certain new cultural space added on, so it couldn't dominate all the others. In Israel, by comparison, it was much more dominant in this sense. I think that in some way, the people who came here - take my father for example: he himself grew up on tradition, on religion, on very clear cut ideas, a way of life that had been passed down for generations. When he came here, he made a very serious change; he opened up many aspects, and somehow felt that everything about this was a kind of mission. However, he still had his background; he had the foundation that was still there inside. Take me, the next generation; we didn't have the same thing. We got the sense of idealism, the sense of building the country, but we didn't have the embedded Jewish, cultural heritage. I think that this heritage, due to the language that was very esoteric to the outside world, with multiple ancient layers and other things that made Hebrew, and us who very naturally grew up on this language - it gave the world, and us, the young generation who grew up on the language, it wasn't part of... at the same time it was, if you think about the whole world, it was something very detached, it was fragmented. I think this created a kind of intensity and a pressure cooker, in which we lived and which created a culture that may be very rich relative to where it started from, but with reference to world culture, it nevertheless exists in its very own little bubble.

And I think that when it started, we weren't aware enough of this. We applied Hebrew and established a culture, and we create and beget and create... this sense of giving birth is very important to people and

it was very intense during that period. If we look at another place in the world – when a young man enters the world and wants to change it, his chances of giving birth to a new idea are very slim, and here it just happened, something allowed it in quite an amazing way. The feeling of creating something from nothing was very explicit; beforehand there was nothing, and suddenly, here it is. This feeling was very clear. I think that it was very dazzling... Naturally, there were also many people who opposed this, but on the whole, as a mass, I think that everyone went along with it, as if it was some kind of enlightenment, a overpowering light... And it truly was, I'm not denying it, I'm only saying that the next generation paid the price of this enlightenment – it was cut off from a previous world. I remember Nurit Zarchi – her father was Israel Zarchi the poet – saying that as a child she thought her father was someone who had come from the Diaspora, from a very limited culture, and she was the "Sabra", and that in Hebrew she had more possibilities and more hidden treasures than her father. It was only when she grew up that she understood how much broader her father was culturally, part of European culture. On the one hand, there was Jewish culture that was closed. My father, for example, didn't come from European culture; he lived within the narrowly closed Jewish culture when he was there; he didn't read literature at all, he only began to read when he came to Israel. He only read the holy books and studied Gemara and all that. I'm talking about people who came more from the region of Austro-Hungary-Germany. They were more liberal, people like Herzl and the like. They were actually part of a much wider culture, and in a certain sense, what was created in Israel was much more limited. We know that people like Henrietta Szold and others like her, for them coming to Israel was like going into the desert. It's true, I think, that the fact that they came from such a rich culture ultimately enriched all of us; opening up and enabling growth and development. But there's also no doubt that there was a feeling that for the country to grow, it had to close itself off. I think that this closing, on the one hand, and the European origins, on the other hand - were very dominant. I think that the aliyot (immigration waves) that came from the Eastern, Arab, Moslem countries, felt inferior for a very, very, long time, because the controlling regime

who created the country was mostly made up of European immigrants, from East Europe, who also saw them as inferior, which of course was a mistake. "Mizrachi" culture has its own richness and its own existence. But, in the opinion of the Europeans, they (the Mizrachim) weren't familiar with Western culture and language and all that, and on the other hand, were also more traditional in their approach. And during that period, tradition and religion were considered reactionary; something that was no longer relevant. I think our conflict with the Arab's also exacerbated this. In other words, those immigrants who came from Arab countries tended to deny the fact that they spoke Arabic, that is, they lived with this inner schism. If they mentioned where they came from, they were likely to be considered traitors and collaborators. It was very complicated, and in this sense the situation created some distortions. First of all, an inner distortion, in our selves, for which we are still paying the price. I think that nowadays, it's somewhat better, due to the fact that over the years Sephardim and Ashkenazim married and identity as either is not as important as it was before, not as distinct as before. Even my parents, who were very liberal, thought that the Sephardim were lowly or inferior. I can remember as a child that it made me very upset without even knowing why. I think that in and among us, it created a sense of discrimination and negative emotions that still exist; some of them justified and others less justified. I think that at that time it was hard for everyone, in general, but there's no doubt that it made a difference if you in the "in" crowd or not; if you had a labor union card or not; all the things we know from Salach Shabati, really took place, it's not something that someone made up. So I think that there was one thing that was created here, and something else that, from a historical perspective, we can look at and feel in a slightly different way, but at that time, the feeling was that the first aliyot were way before what happened with the cultural shock of the forties. This was still before the war, and the conflict began even then. The conflict didn't only begin afterwards, after the story of Germany and the Holocaust. But I think that in some way, the legitimacy - that of course existed already on the plane of Zion and Israel as the Land of Israel, which was planted in the hearts of the Jewish nation, with it's "next

year in rebuilt Jerusalem" and which united people who were more liberal and more religious, people like my father, people from Jewish ghettos, it was something very, very deep. In this context, I'd just like to state that my grandfather, for example, was very Zionist, even though he was very religious. He read the Zionist paper and it was important for him to know what was going on in the Land of Israel. They belonged to the court of the Ger Rabbi. Before he sent his first son to Israel, he came to the Rabbi to get his blessing. He told the Rabbi that his son was going to Israel and he was asking for his blessing, so the Ger Rabbi said "if you want him to stay a Jew, don't send him to Israel". And my grandfather said "if he wants to be a Jew, he'll be a Jew wherever he is". It may have taken a lot of chutzpa to talk like that to the Rabbi, but it was connected to the Zionist consciousness that was so strong in him that it gave him the power to stand his ground versus a religious authority that was the ultimate authority in those days. I say that this feeling of the Land of Israel as the place that ultimately...even in Hassidism, Rabbi Nachman, for example, says that the place where you are closest to God is in the Land of Israel. Even the religious concepts; most of the Rabbis see it as their duty to make a trip to Israel, to breathe in its air and so on. There is no doubt that the Land of Israel was part of Jewish culture in its widest sense, in the religion itself, naturally, in the writings and also, in the inner feeling of a place from which they'd been torn and to where they want to return. I think that these things were really true of the first waves of immigration. They accepted this yearning for Israel as something that was part of them, but, on the other hand, they also began to give it other meanings, because Israel was no longer just an idea or an abstraction. All of a sudden, it had become something concrete. However, when first waves of immigration began (1880-1881), there were conflicts with the Arabs here and there, but overall the feeling was that it was possible to live with it and make due... They bought some lands and it's possible that they were tricked a little with these purchases...but I'm not really an expert on these matters. However, in general, the settlement in Israel was not an Arab nationalist settlement. The whole encounter between the Diaspora Jews, with no background in farming, and if you think of that Arab

peasant and my father... with whom I began my story...the peasant was a son of a peasant and belonged to a tradition of peasants his whole life. And my father wasn't a farmer before and wasn't one afterwards either, but as a member of the Kibbutz, he had to plow the land. His connection to the land may have been quite abstract; he didn't really know the land. I remember a movie made by an Israeli director. It was a documentary about a trip taken by a group of Arabs from Sechem (Nablus), some of whom lived in Israel and some of their children and they are taking a trip in Israel. In one scene of the movie, the bus is on the way to Ben Gurion airport and there was an elderly peasant who wanted to stop along the way. The bus stopped, he got off, along with a mother and son who had no connection to him, but they were part of the group on the bus. Anyway, he goes with them to a certain point and suddenly kneels down, finds a plant, and then begins to tell about his lands, and talks about the flowers. Suddenly, you could see their deep connection with nature. In many ways, I don't think this was true for us, for those who immigrated here. It may be that some of them came here from Zionism and ideology and when they began to work the land, they began to connect more specifically with nature, in the sense of the plants and all, but it's not something they came with. They don't have it layered in to their heritage, the heritage of connection. I think that this created a situation in which they came with resources, and the Arab settlement was very poor in its resources. They suddenly showed up with all their resources, and they had people who could raise money here and there, and they thought big. They wanted to create a kind of cultural continuation of Europe. It's not that they came here and said, we want to connect with the Arab/Israeli space or the Mediterranean space – they came to the Mediterranean with thoughts of European cities, Vienna, Munich, and maybe also cities in Russia, like St. Petersburg. In other words the landscape that they hailed from was totally different, and they also had a very clear sense of superiority, because of their technological abilities and also because they considered European culture superior. They actually didn't quite grasp the fact that there were many things they could learn from the locals, from the aborigines. I'm an architect and its only now that we're beginning

to understand that all kinds of architectural perspectives or solutions of the Arab villages are suited to the local climate, temperature, connected to the land. When they came here they began to build houses with the tile roofs that suited Europe because of the snow that had nothing to do with the place. This means that somehow, they were so dazzled by their innovative actions and by the momentum, that was so clearly different from that of an Arab village; so different than building one house at a time; they were building a city. It may have also been a type of professionalism that didn't exist at the local level of the villages, but there weren't any professional Arab building associations. They would just build a house naturally in the right way of connecting with the ground. There were people who built, but they didn't understand construction or things of that type, and certainly didn't know how to build high rise buildings, so in some ways, the people who came from Germany and Austria, that were quite well developed in this sense, brought with them knowledge that the locals didn't have and it made them feel like they needed to learn; they also wanted a different kind of structures. The kibbutz also had clusters of structures, not like the Arab village that is spread out, a house here and a house there; or they built urban centers. Any way you look at it, there was a distortion; first of all, in the feeling of legitimacy due to our historical background and that we'll be able to manage anything that turns up. We'll just compensate him in one way or another for what we take away from him. And we'll teach him...and because our living conditions will be better, so their living conditions will also be better. Even today you still hear that a lot when you talk with Israeli Arabs. We're friendly with Said Abu Shakra, who is in charge of the gallery and is now building a museum, so he tells me, for example, that his children feel closer to Israeli children than to their cousins in the territories. In fact, there's something right about creating a culture that in many ways is more advanced and it does, in fact influence people. But it also has a negative impact, because it doesn't give legitimacy to their otherness and to the fact that in certain things, they didn't want to change and they were forced to change, against their will in some way. And I'm not even talking about when villages were destroyed and Jewish settlements built instead,

so they couldn't, let's say, visit their parents' graves or other things with an emotional factor. The distortion extended to the fact that we saw ourselves as the center of the world, that we are no doubt doing something wonderful here, that it was right. However, it gave us legitimacy, which was unwarranted, because it doesn't have any boundaries; no right or wrong, it sanctifies everything. I think that many things happened here that were very problematical, on a human level, as someone who is part of it, someone connected to it. This whole problem got worse after '48. So, on the one hand, you can say that OK, we were ready to accept the decisions of the United Nations, and it was their problem that they didn't and thought that by force they'd be able to throw us out of here, which, in a way is true. Naturally, they also made lots of mistakes and they got themselves into the situation in which they find themselves today, them and us, because we're all in one boat. That is one thing that must be understood – that we're in the same boat, and if anyone falls, then so will the other. It's not a matter of us or them, as some people think – it doesn't work that way. I think that the entire nationalistic definition, with the feeling of a state, and all the wars, from the '48 war onwards, that looked like it would end in catastrophe and ended in....

Keren: A catastrophe for them....

Zvi: A catastrophe for them... It's a feeling that we're here and no force on earth can move us from here. This may have gotten stronger in 67, the Six Day War. I think that there were many factors that eventually – what was built on one side was a catastrophe for the other side. I think that there were lots of slogans that both sides believed in, both those on the right and on the left, Mapai at that time. They said, well, they're Arabs, and they're part of the Arab world, so let the Arab world take care of them. It's not our problem, it's their problem. And because there was no national definition beforehand, it further strengthened the feeling that it's OK, so there were a few peasants who lived here, they didn't understand just how strong the connection was between the peasant and his land. So, OK so, just let's

get him land somewhere else and he'll work the land, but no - his connection to the land was deeper, on the one hand. And on the other hand, I don't think they understood the complexity of the Arab world itself; the fact that the Arab countries were afraid that they'd would come and undermine the civilian balance in their countries. They didn't take it into account at all, and they also had illusions about Jordan, as if they'd just go to Jordan and become a part of it. Again, what was partially true was that in most of the Arab countries, power was in the hands of a group that wasn't necessary the majority, as a result of a certain tradition or a kingdom that had been passed on in one fashion or another. In other words, there were huge distortions, but I think that to take responsibility for this is not necessarily connected to them, it belongs to us. If there is a very big mistake – then that is the one. It's not that think that if we take responsibility then everything will be solved. Some things may be part of their nature, and aren't solvable, or part of the mechanisms of these two nations, each one with its own particular structure. But I do think that there is no doubt that the blind, power-hungry way they acted at that time, the force that joined with a sense of justice that only increased as a result of the whole story of the Holocaust, and gave us legitimacy for a place of our own, for being strong. This whole matter of being strong, of being responsible for yourself, after great injury – it's understandable psychologically, on the one hand. On the other hand, the Arabs are also justified in saying that they weren't a part of that whole story. The fact that we were hurt there, even if they see it as catastrophe, they can't be asked to pay for it. There was confusion in transferring powers or in what makes things legitimate here and what applies to elsewhere. So I say, this was here.... and mistakes were made on both sides, but I can't assume their mistakes, but I do think that we must assume our mistakes.

Keren: When can you, even if simplistically or generally speaking, say that that was the feeling? Are you speaking of before the establishment of the state? You also mentioned 67?

Zvi: Well, I think that that was the feeling to a certain extent, and again I'd like to use someone like my father, who was very humane, as an example; humanity was one of his basic qualities. I think it took him many years to realize that something was wrong. For a long time, the Jewish community felt, and it was partially connected to Arab culture, and the way the Arabs tried to solve things, the whole issue of terrorist attacks. It doesn't matter if it was one way and now it's another way, what they actually did was to hurt innocent people very directly. This causes a lot of antagonism and the feeling that you can't identify with it and you have no doubt that you're the victim. Though there was a problem, because in other ways they were the victim and we were the winners. But the way they behaved, the whole matter of the infiltrators, they'd infiltrate the kibbutzim and... the way they used their force and their belief that force is what would change the situation, created a situation that united the Jewish settlement and gave the feeling that we were dealing with animals and not with human beings, etc.etc... Their de-humanization as people granted legitimacy to so many things that are... and well I say, it's complex, because when you think about it, there are situations where you needed to be on guard, because the Arabs would attack and things happened. Again, it was like two children fighting and not trying to understand that there is a problem and that they should try to solve it, and the solution won't come from hitting each other. You remember Golda's declaration about the Palestinians, that they're "not at all nice and who are they, after all? What right do they even have to ask?" Golda wasn't a bad person, it was just a part of her thinking pattern and there were only a few people, like Uri Avneri, or such people, who are capable of also seeing the other side. At first, they were considered traitors. I remember that when I was in high school, I can't say that I belonged to Matzpen (radical left wing group), but I'd send them all kinds of notes and help them out and it wasn't really considered legitimate. Society in general tended to condemn it, at that time. Even my father was quite shocked when he heard about it.

Keren: What was that? I don't know what you mean. Matzpen?

Zvi: Matzpen was an extremely radical leftist movement during the sixties, actually established by Uri Avneri, though he didn't establish it personally, but it was from his group of people. It wasn't a party, or a political group, with legitimate recognition by the Knesset, but it was set up as an organization that sent all kinds of messages to people and described the situation at the time from an Arab vantage point. And somehow, many people took it quite seriously.... At that time there was an incident with this guy from a Kibbutz near Hadera, Udi... Udi... I don't remember his family name... At any rate, he belonged to Matzpen and was involved with an Arab party that he sort of... well, he wasn't exactly a spy, but I think that out of a sense of injustice, he entered areas that were quite problematical, as if reverse radicalism. I think that this was limited to very small sectors of the population at that time, and I also think there's a problem with what they published, that wasn't about to tow the line with the overriding point of view. I think that this feeling grew and grew, and naturally '67 only fortified it. We can remember the statement of Ben Gurion himself, who said – get rid of those territories immediately. On the other hand, we didn't know how to do this right away, and we had the feeling that the territories were a "joker" to bargain with for peace. At the same time, so that this card could exist, we populated it with settlements – and this is true of all the leaders on the left as well, even those chosen to represent a more social and democratic perspective. And I think that this whole phenomenon connects with religious, messianic fervor. Even Rabbi Kook, who considered the settlements as a kind of mission, I don't think he understood what they involved and what conflict they evoked. If he were alive today, I don't know if he'd have the strength to stand up to everything that has happened. There's no doubt about this idea of returning to places of historical significance from the Bible, with all it entails, in Beit El or in Sechem, each with its own, very deep historical connections, that even I feel part of. It's not that I deny it; it's just that I don't feel I have to own them; it's two different things. What happened here is that, on the one hand, most of the Palestinians were coping with a situation where they themselves couldn't admit that you (the Jews) exist, and we also want to exist, so let's find a way.... everything that happened at a later

stage, with Oslo and all that. For many, many years, they didn't accept it either. They only spoke in terms of throwing us into the sea, and it wasn't just slogans... The way they implemented it was by hostile, aggressive actions, and on a humane level, it was very hard to understand how people could come and kill babies. It's not that I'm saying that... some things are never justified... you can't just justify them in the name of ideology, in no situation....

I think that when you cross these red lines, you begin to understand that the other side is in a very, very, difficult position, so that he can't even begin to hear your (justified) side. It's as if you led him to that position.... In some way I think that that's what happened to both sides; each side led the other into an intolerable situation, because there's no doubt that the iniquity of their situation in the refugee camps is terrible. And it's actually happening in light of all that we've suffered; and it's terrible that we can be responsible for such a thing; it's very hard to accept such things. But I think that somehow... if I digress for a moment to something that interests you, there's a kind of existential defense mechanism, both on our side and on their side. This mechanism demonizes the other side – the other side is a demon and it must be destroyed in order for us to survive. You do it in the name of your children and in the name of the most innocent and naïve things there are. I think that it's very hard to differentiate between what is necessary existentially, and I don't feel that I should stick out my neck and say, here, cut it... I think that I want to stand up for what I believe in and I don't think there's any question about my legitimate right to be in Israel. I only think that we must find a way for both sides to live side by side. And once again, I say – it's true that if a right-wing person comes and says to me "the green line is also something you conquered.... it wasn't..." well, that may be true, but you have to start from somewhere... and that is a certain point of departure. It's a start that.... I, for example, think that to return to the UN decisions of 48 is not the right thing. Both because of how life has crystallized and all kinds of things... I think that there's a compromise to be made, and they may also have a price to pay for not understanding that this may have been a choice that would give them the most. I think that ultimately, the problem is not one

of territory. A very small area can create a Garden of Eden, so, actually, it's not a question of one kilometer more or less. I think that for me, it's a question of drawing a line in a place that we can see and behind which we can mobilize and cope with our own schisms and ruptures – because as far as I'm concerned, that is one of the most difficult things now happening; maybe even worse than what's happening between us and them. That is bad enough, but I think that if this rupture continues to grow, we'll eventually wind up with self-hatred of ourselves and that will destroy everything. I think we need to look for the common denominator, or mutual stabilizing factor, so that within ourselves, at least the inner rupture will not take over, and then maybe... and we've seen that in those moments when we all connect, most of this somehow disappears, as if we've begun to work shoulder to shoulder. So, as far as perceptions, it's clear that I side with those who think that the most important thing to deal with is this whole story of the territories, with the populations living there, all those things. At the same time, I think that the way we're handling it is not simple. Let's say that ideologically you say, yes, you have to do it, but how you do it is the big question. I think that many political situations worldwide are not based on theoretical justice. The question is whether there was any political figure or country that was successful simultaneously in dousing the fire and crossing the river. In my opinion, that's the most complicated thing right now, because I think that at the moment, the whole issue of the withdrawal (hitnatkut) causes a major rupture, or deepened the rupture amongst those people who see themselves as religious nationalists – and it doesn't matter how they define themselves. At the moment, I can't see any political figure around, though maybe s/he exists and just can't see him/her yet – a figure that people can join in following; a figure who will stir up a dialogue in a way that the nationalists and the religious people will respect and reach agreement. In other words, I'm pessimistic, in the sense that, at the moment, I can't see how we get out of this situation. I'm optimistic in the sense that I believe that ultimately, our existence here is the right thing. I feel that what stands behind this dimension, its depth is authentic and correct and therefore, it will ultimately find a way to exist. I hope that the other side will also be

enlightened enough to see the situation from a double perspective, and not only from one side. I think that time plays a role here, that though, in my experience, people talk about a lack of time, and I can remember, when I was in elementary school, we had a literature teacher, who in the first lesson wrote on the board the number of Jews and the number of Arabs at the time, and then the future number of Jews and the future number of Arabs, and said that we don't stand a chance. I think that in a certain sense, time doesn't contribute, we have settlements and we have encounters and we have conflicts, and it's not good, it only increases the hatred. It demands increasingly radical actions that make the other side more extreme as well. It's a circle that hard to escape, and I really think that I can't say that I'm not disappointed from the whole Gaza affair. It's not that I thought that there would be an immediate Renaissance there, but somehow the way they translated our withdrawal was not particularly encouraging. I feel that the other side is very complex and very splintered and they have no figure to unite them all. On the other hand, their entire culture of power that was directed at us was also directed inwards, in a very extreme manner, so you don't even know where to begin to address these things.

Keren: Do you think that the de-legitimization and de-humanization that was so characteristic of our perceptions for so many years still exists?

Zvi: On the whole, I think that that's the main thing that has changed. I think that what was true in the sixties of less than one percent of the Israeli population – that it's possible to have two nations living side by side – I think that nowadays, and though I haven't checked it statistically, I think that most Israelis now accept this position.

Keren: How did this happen? Why did it happen?

Zvi: It happened in several ways. Little by little, we understood that this matter of the territories is a corrupting force. Because this matter handled by the army has been shared by most members of society, everyone who was there realized that something terrible is going on there, to them themselves, over and beyond what is happening to the other side with all this entails. I think that somehow, since Oslo they have also come to their senses and accepted our existence here, to a certain extent, and are ready for co-existence. At a certain point, this gave people the feeling that it's do-able, it's possible. It's hard, and it's this and that, but it's possible. Most of us couldn't stand Arafat's as a person, his personality, but we understood that here was a power who could create possibility. He could create a world and a state and life. I think that time also helped us understand this. In other words, the fortification of their freedom movements, the feelings that nothing could be achieved by force, that no one would just leave; that Jordan wasn't the answer or any other Arab state. It's now pretty clear to everyone that what they used to talk about vaguely, and maybe making peace with Jordan and Egypt also gave the impression that even if it's a cold peace...it gave the feeling that it's somehow possible to bridge the hatred, something that didn't seem possible in any other way; the nobility of an individual who could see things of this sort. I think that it's a process with many factors, and also, the period from 67 until the first Intifada, also helped considerably. Lots of Palestinians came to work in Israel and saw Israelis as people without horns, like beforehand they considered us and we thought of them. You'd meet them on a human level... and also, there's the factor of tiredness, which maybe shouldn't happen, but which in fact, does... a certain kind of tiredness. If we think about Trumpeldor's statement that it's "good to die for your country", well, I'm sure that there are many youngsters enlisting in the army and serving the country, but the individualism that has developed in the world has also affected Israel. It has both positive and negative aspects. I think that the feeling of belonging to a group, to a society, was enormously powerful at the beginning of the twentieth century and surely at the time of the establishment of the state and until 67; it was very strong for everyone. I think that 67 witnessed the

beginning of a conflict between right and left in Israel, so that this issue of the group as a group, which was so clear, began to crack; things were not so clear anymore. There is no doubt that this is mostly owing to what happened in the world, rather than in Israel. This matter of the young people who evade enlistment, they don't feel like they have to hide anymore. There used to be things like that, but firstly, not of such a scale and secondly, not as such a rebellion against society. These things have really changed greatly. I think that the worship of the army that used to be for many years has now been shattered. In other words, you can still see youngsters coming home (from the army) and going out on the town in their uniforms, but most of them will prefer to change into civilian clothing. This illustrates the fact that you don't identify with this part of yourself. So I think that it's made up of lots of factors, and some of them are quite problematical. Like I said, in the distinctions between left and right, I see myself as left-wing, and I think that in the past I was even more radical. Today, on the whole, I think there's a huge problem with the left, I think that its identity has... well, liberalism is important, but it's not something a young person can live for... it can't stir him/her up and give a reason for being here in Israel. Liberalism can be much stronger in the United States than in Israel. So, I think that the left doesn't really realize, or is not aware enough of Jewish identity as something that's really, truly important and that maybe, we need to find it anew or to find it in the here and now – but it's important. I think that there's a problem with a state for all its citizens. On one hand, on the social level, this is something I'd truly wish for. For sure, I wouldn't want to see their (Arab) villages without plumbing or electricity or jobs. I can understand the security problem they pose, but I think that they should be treated shouldn't be connected with this. On the whole, I think all these things can change, there's no reason that they shouldn't change, and in time, they will. At the same time, I would like to live in a Jewish state. I want the situation in which on Yom Kippur no one travels (by car). There are some things that I feel that if we lose them, then why even be here at all? If living in Israel is, say, like living in England, just another country, then... in short, there are things here that have no simple answer. It's not that I think that I have

a bundle of answers to define it, but there's no doubt that we need to return to education that recognizes and is connected to our origins, that understands where we came from and where we're going... it's something that we must, certainly do... without a doubt...

Keren: When you say our origins, you mean Jewish sources or to what happened to them?

Zvi: I'm referring to Jewish sources. What happened to them is part of what's taking place... because nowadays there are these new historians and there are also the post-Zionists. In universities, the story of Jewish settlement is an ongoing thing.... it hasn't yet become part of textbooks, but I believe that it will. It doesn't seem to me to be the most important issue, though here too, maybe we need a certain reform. But I think that there's been some confusion here, as I mentioned earlier. I was very angry at my father for the fact that when I enter a synagogue I can't open up a Siddur (prayer book) and know where they're reading, it's not something that comes naturally to me. If I go into a synagogue or not, is another question, it's my own business, but it should be something that's natural for me. I hear people saying Kaddish (prayer for the dead) in Hebrew and it shocks me that people don't even know how to read the Kaddish, (in Aramaic) which is a very simple thing. I'm talking about these questions of whether a Brit Milah (circumcision) or not, that many people now consider a barbaric act. All of these things are really questions, but the way they're perceived – it actually takes all the meaning out of who we are and why we are and the understanding that it (the circumcision) is embedded in a much broader context than just the medical one, and the baby's pain, etc. I'm using this as one example, but it's not the only one. As far as I'm concerned, the left should concentrate more on social-democratic issues, for example in the way our Education Minister and other people are trying to. But, in my opinion a large part of the left, denies religion entirely, in the wrong way. The fact that many religious institutions and organizations take advantage of religion to guzzle funds, and so on and so on, is unfortunately true, and too bad that this is the case, and it should be corrected. But they are not the religion itself, religion is one thing, and

maybe it's something different for every individual. But, when you only see religion on the political level, it's a very limited view. I think that religion is important, it's an identity. To understand it in the context of who we are, in the broadest sense possible. For example, I think it's terrible that they published a Bible for children in simpler language so that children could grasp it. I hope it won't catch on, but indeed it may, because some of the teachers themselves, instead of digging into it (the Bible) and understanding what's written there, it's easier for them to read it in easy... but then we'll lose the thing that for me is truly a gift, and a miracle and a blessing. So I think that this brings us again to the question that you asked about, and there's no doubt that right now I'm speaking from within a certain defense mechanism. It may be that now it is possible to create a country of all its citizens, with the ultimate ability to live as a Jew, and not create a situation in which, after a while, there would be a Moslem majority, and the whole conflict would water down into something much more social, connected to current events, let's say in another fifty years or so. Maybe, if someone would unfurl this possibility and show it to me, maybe I'd even be ready....it's a bit frightening though, the fear of losing control; the fear that in your own country you'll become a second class citizen. So many things are connected to fears, but I think that ultimately, the position to which I'm trying to cling to and to speak from, is not from a place of fear, as far as I am able to see. Naturally, there are things that are so sophisticated, that I'm not aware that I'm being activated by them, but, in fact, I am. So, as far as I am able to decipher in my conscious awareness and understand, I think that I'm trying to act more from a position of understanding. I think that I'm still very much a Zionist. It's very hard for me to hear people say that it's only one big injustice. I don't think it's one big wrong-doing. I think that there are amazing things (in Israel) and I think that a lot of other things that pushed us and pulled us. I think that the other side has played a large part in this, but I don't think this is connected to the fact that we first must correct it. Correction begins first from taking responsibility for things you think you have done wrong, that you have behaved in a way you didn't want to behave. I think that the way to go is still very long.

My feeling is, if you ask me, not only as someone who lives and grows in Israel, but as an artist, I feel that my art is not political in the narrow sense of the word. It's not like David Reeve who through his art ... presents... I don't think that art of this kind, that I call journalistic art, has any meaning... it's art that less interests me, and not only in Israel, but in general. There were some rare cases, for example Goya, who managed to connect current events and great art. It's truly very rare, and in many cases it becomes a kind of illustration. Even Delacroix – the Birth of the Republic – to me seems like an illustration rather than a painting, on par with other paintings of his. So the question is, how, as an artist, can you try to express the world like this... how do you cope with things... and I think that for me, coping involves coming from a human perspective. Not an attempt to show or prove injustice of one sort or another. Instead, you present something that when a person faces, s/he will react from who s/he is and what position in the screen s/he identifies with, as if s/he himself is one of the sides. So, if you take a topic like the sacrifice of Isaac, which is, to a certain extent, a story of our identity as a people, connected to the identity of the Jewish people and undoubtedly connected with Jewish identity, but you can immediately make it into a political position and pass Isaac along to the other side. The point is, and its things that are very hard to put a finger on, I think that art is often associated with symbolism and a declaration of intent, particularly nowadays, because I think that these are more communicative issues that are easier to convey to one another. For me, the spot that art really penetrates and touches me, is the place where the identity of the creator is not the nationalist stance. It's the place of a certain kind of living conditions. For example, if someone writes about a person in a country I've never visited, the meaning is not connected to whether I've been there or not, if I've experienced it or not, the question is if it connects with wider, more human aspects that will make me experience it in my own world, which may be different in design, in scenery, from the world in which s/he painted it. If I look at Pierrot Del Francesco, I'm very far away from the scenery in which he lived; his world, both the religious and the civilian. Nevertheless, he's much closer to me than many of the artists who are creating today. So your identity

or your attachment to your surroundings or place is where the artist finds materials that nourish him/her and allow him/her to understand the nuances and complexity of the world. The place the world is created is through the artist and not through the place. It's clear that this is the an artist's standpoint, but often I ask myself what is my origin/source, or, in other words, if I am connected somehow to my father who was born in Poznan and my mother who was born in Bessarabia, in Kishniov. Aren't these places part of me, what is the limit of these places? And if I identified with Dostoyevsky as a young man, though I never was in St. Petersburg, is this a part of me or not? In other words your position as an artist is complex and it's not necessarily identical with the actual place you reside. You can live in one place and see inwardly a place that may not even exist. The question is does it turn into a concrete place, not in terms of being in this world or not, but if it becomes concrete. The question is what makes a place concrete? But, I think that that is something that we can feel. I don't want to get into an artistic discussion of what makes something concrete or not. But I think that the place from which I create, is a place that I'd really like to, say, for example I had an exhibit in a Palestinian village or city, no matter where. The people who would come there may read my background on the wall and this would give them certain tools, but what I'd like to see happen would be more indirect, that they'd feel a certain affinity for the work, that wouldn't depend on whether I was Jewish or Israeli or that I live here. So, I think that ultimately, your position as an artist and your position as a human being overlap. I think that ultimately, the more of a "mensch" (human being) you are as a person, the broader your work as an artist becomes. Sure, some things don't depend on you. Some things are connected to talent, what I've received and what I haven't. But for me, I never felt that I...let's just say I started painting at a very early age. Many of the paintings and sketches that I did at a young age were quite violent, somewhat aggressive, a feeling of injustice and references to weak and strong and such things. But I think that I never tried to see it as an embodiment or reflection of something one-dimensional in the world. It was always something much broader that I felt, in a way you can say... take (Isaac's) sacrifice for example –

ultimately all of life is a kind of sacrifice, if we look at it from a very broad perspective. In other words - the fact that we live with a ticking clock, with something that is going to end. All kinds of things that involve human destiny, without connection to any specific situation. A person aged 0 is killed and his/her life is suddenly over. It has nothing to do with him/her, so it makes it even more extreme. Let's say a person lived naturally, even then there's a... so I thought to myself, when you brought it up in the beginning, so I told myself that I may not be the ultimate artist that you're interested in talking to. If you take a look at artists who are more political, who have more of a statement to make "on the spot", whose work and what they say are one and the same thing. But I think that ultimately, you reach the understanding that it's OK to be living a certain life and it's within this life that you try to say what you have to say, as powerfully as you can. But ultimately, the world, culture, a "larger" statement, is actually one, ongoing statement, made of many, many, building blocks. In this sense, as a young artist, I saw myself more as a prophet of doom, someone who connects visually with the tradition of the prophets in the Bible.

Keren: A prophet of doom in the political context?

Zvi: Not in the political sense. More in the context of feeling that a large majority of people were only interested in material things. It was as if they had lost contact with God in the inner, spiritual sense, rather than politically. It was in no way political, not at all. For me, politics was something to identify with, etc. etc, but it was never the main issue, because I truly feel that the question of who I am is what preoccupies me; among other things, the question of being an Israeli during a certain period of life and so on. Again, I think that the multiple layers of who you are is a much bigger question than merely the political times in which you live. The inner time in which I live is much longer than my actual life. I'm 58 years old and I don't feel that my inner life is 58. I'm also not interested in dealing with someone whose inner time is 58. I'm not saying this in the political sense, but in the existential sense, with the feeling

that ultimately the place of the ego, of the self that you are, and I think that one of the most difficult aspects of twentieth century life is that individualism has led us to a type of egocentricity, to a focus on the self into a position where we don't even understand that in a broader sense it will be different. The minute you understand that you belong to a much larger time span, you expand yourself as well, you don't limit yourself. It's as if I feel that something about the inner dialectic that's taking place is very wrong. So in this sense, I often feel that the left is much narrower than the right, despite the fact that the way the right implements historical perceptions in the here and now is often quite limited and it irritates me. However, the fact that they see themselves within a broader space is something I feel very keenly. I think they exile themselves from the historical here and now, of what is happening around us, which is another limitation. So I guess you could say that each of the sides has a space that is quite spacious and another side that is quite limited. I think that the truth lies in an attempt to connect these two spaces – of a cosmopolitan time span of here and now, not only in the Israeli dimension but in the international one; to understand the forces and the events happening in the modern world, in the world that is forming. At the same time, to see the historical perspective, and not only focus on the here and now. I think that very few people do this, and in my opinion, this is perhaps the most vitally essential.

Keren: Well, and for something else [vague sentence] in the context of art: do you feel that as an artist you have some kind of connection or added value to add to the conflict? Earlier you mentioned a sense of humanity, humaneness. You also said that "if you were to exhibit in some village...." Have you ever had such an exhibit? Would you like to? Do you, for example, go to exhibitions of Palestinian artists?

Zvi: First of all, I don't go enough, I don't do enough and I feel guilt about this. I mentioned before that I am in contact with Said Abu Shakra, and I'm also in contact with two Arab Israeli artists, Buteina and Uuda. We meet occasionally, but I don't think that I contribute enough. I think that... let's say that... it's a question of time. For example, there was an exhibit in Uum-El-Fachem that I participated in, and one of

my two works exhibited there, a certain sculpture, was a sculpture of [King] David. So I thought that David was a very interesting choice, in light of the conflict. I think that many Jewish symbols have a different meaning when we look at them in the political context. I don't think that that's what I meant, but again, I must say that it connects with cosmopolitan, humane issues that seem to recur throughout history. It's always relevant, somehow. But, for example, they had a problem with the fact that it's a body, and they had to turn the sculpture around. So, in other words, I feel that the artistic traditions I work with are Western. In this sense, I may be different from some of... though nowadays there are some Israeli artists who are more connected to Western art, I think that Israeli art for many years was connected to abstract elements, maybe because of the commandment [from the Ten commandments] not to make yourself a sculpture or image. In this sense, it's easier to connect to Moslem art, because they also have a problem of representation, of what is forbidden to create; though I think that modern Palestinian artists don't exactly follow this prohibition. But I think that in the villages, religious traditions are still a problem. So I feel that in this sense, there are certain cultural conditions that make it difficult for us to converse, and make it hard for them to dialogue with the kind of work that I do. Because I think I make a body that is sensual externally.... I think that people are very limited in this sense... So I think that for me, with reference to your question about the influence of the conflict... I would say that....

Keren: Or, on the other hand, as an artist, do you feel that you can influence...

Zvi: No... I think that it's a very complicated question, if I look at... well, there are some artists who are tragic artists and there are some who are more decorative or epic, and I think that if I take someone like Dante or Michelangelo or Bosch or Bruegel, they didn't need an Arab conflict to do what they did, because it was inside.... the inferno inside man is much greater than any inferno that can be on the outside. In this sense I feel like I belong to this family, by my nature, without an connection to the conflict...

Keren: You're Jewish...

Zvi: Even as a Jew, I say again, some of them weren't Jewish and they did have it. I see it not only as a Jew. Let's say that from an early age, they thought I'd been in the Holocaust and that my work was connected to it, but I wasn't, and I don't even think I was trying to react to the Holocaust. Though, once again, the Holocaust was something very profound that I encountered and that rolled over me like a steamroller, and I can't even say what would have been, if it had or hadn't been. So these questions are, to a certain extent, imprecise. You can't know how something would have been otherwise. But, undoubtedly, and I often give this expression, it's a fact that you live in Israel, you live in a situation in which reality is so extreme, that to just close the door of your studio and turn your back on it all, is a very hard thing to do. I think that it's a fact that you live in Israel and you encounter death and terrible things, unnatural circumstances of death, wherever you turn, makes you always aware of its existence. Maybe if I lived in Switzerland, with my nature, I don't know if I would create something else, different, so naturally, the fact that you meet it all the times does something to me. I can't tell you exactly what it does, but I can say perhaps that it fortifies the feeling that I must put more love into...that I think that the only way to cope with it all is through love. I think that the power of love is what always leads me in any case. I always say to myself – you must need a more powerful force to withstand it. Let's say that ideologically, in the sense of wishful thinking, I would like my work to contribute to there not being another terrorist attack. We know that this is not the case, but on the inside – yes. So, if it does have an influence, well it influences me by making me demand even more from myself. But, in any case, I demand a lot out of myself and I can't know whether or.... I think that it's very intense to live in Israel. And I think that it doesn't do a lot of good to many artists, though it's... the fact that there are so many Israeli artists, and maybe there are other reasons I haven't checked, but I think that it's probably connected to the fact that so many young people meet death at such an early age, and feel the need to express it. I think that this is the reason we don't develop the "vessels" enough, so to speak. To drink

from the fountain of art, you have to have the proper tools, and I think that the tools in Israel are increasingly broken. There's so much to say, but there aren't enough vessels to contain it, and there isn't enough time to rebuild them. In this sense, I feel that I am indeed very lucky, and I don't know if it's luck or the inner feeling that I've taken a time out from Israel. I was in New York for seven years and... I feel that... and I've also been familiar with literature and art since high school. It's not something I learned at home, but since high school, I encountered it and it made me understand that you can't just have things thrown in your face; they need building, in a space in which they can be contained. So, I always feel as if I'm building this "vessel". In this sense, what happens maybe gives me the feeling that the vessel must be even bigger, to contain what's going on. But it's not just a direct thing. In general, what I do is connected with many, many factors that have nothing to do with the conflict; some of them I put into the work and other's I don't, but the correlation is not direct and I'm glad that it isn't. Though I would say that there is a certain role for those, for whom the correlation is more direct, but I think that their role is maybe more like a journalist, in the sense that they react and yell out at the very moment. I think that ultimately, art must stand the test of time. The question is whether this art will exist or not, at a time when the conflict is over. That is the question for me, and not whether it uttered the right phrase during the conflict at a certain point in time. That's the way I see it.

Keren: OK, well, I certainly have many more questions, but this has already been so much....

Dan Bar-On

K: In your work, from your expertise and your experience, what are the mechanisms connected to the conflict, that you have seen expressed, and of course, have you seen differences throughout years of work... have you seen mechanisms connected to situations that maintain the conflict as is, or escalate it... or things that can help, or...

D: There is one book that has been published twice. I'd suggest you read it in the second edition, it's called "The Others in our Midst". It will soon be published in English by Cambridge University Press.

D: And it was published in 2005 by Ben Gurion Publications at the Bialik Institute. In that book I discuss at length the issue of "others"; first of all Jewish "others" within Israeli society. In other words, how Israeli identity is constructed, first of all, in response to the Diaspora Jew and how actually, Zionism was an interpretation of the need to construct a new kind of Jew, different from the Diaspora Jew in Europe. Among other things, this entailed internalizing many anti-Semitic stereotypes that the Zionists used because they had, in fact internalized them and built, instead, a different kind of Jew. This began with physical attributes, as noted by Nordau, who was a physician, that are actually kind of chilling, because they remind of us things we'd rather not belong to... It continues with a personage who works and can protect himself and all those things that they believed the European Jew did not possess.

One of the things I discovered, that is interesting, is the fact that freedom is first and foremost inner freedom, rather than external freedom. Before you define external freedom, you have to define what inner freedom is...

Afterwards, the next type of "other" I dealt with was the "ethnic other", as I called it. This is a Jew who comes from the Arab countries, who did not match perceptions of the new Jew and who needed to assimilate into what had already been created. The image of the "Sabra" already existed and the Eastern

Jew had to assimilate into that. So, for me, this is the most interesting part of the work, because it's clear that the kind of freedom we're talking about is freedom from the foreigner, from what threatens us...

And we perceive ourselves as defending ourselves from him, but we see ourselves as a whole... and actually I discovered that there is this internal part; you're defending yourself from something internal as well as from something external... this was something very new about the way I understood the collective process, or what you are actually calling projection or defense.

So, this book deals with the different stages of identity development. The first stage is one that I call the monolithic; it's a stage where the division is very clear-cut, very black and white between "us" and who we are and who are the "others".

K: A "split" in the language of defense mechanisms?

D: Yes, I suppose you could call it a split, but a very clear one; an uncompromising division. It's interesting, because the real situation of European Jewry, for example, was far more complex. These Jews had families abroad, they needed money from this Jewry, they wanted others to come here, but they still saw themselves as "olim" (ascending immigrants) and anyone who left as "yordim" (descending). So within the concept of the split, there is a much more complex network that includes some positives alongside the clear, black and white perception of "myself" versus the "other or others".

The stage after the monolithic stage has a clear function similar to the one we recognize for the defense mechanisms you mentioned. It comes to unite people who come from very different places and have no common denominators. Psychologically, it creates a common ground – that's its function, yes it's very functional at these stages.

There is a stage where it is no longer functional, because reality no longer obliges this defense and then it turns out to involve an enormous investment. What happens then, is a process I call the disintegration of the monolith... In Israel I start to see it around... there are initial signs of it during the sixties... a period of recession in Israel, riots in Wadi Salib, and jokes about who would switch off the lights last in Lod... then, of course, came the Six Day War and a return to the monolith, a complete return. Until, little by little, the process, as we see it in 73, 77, 82, the milestones along the way... and in my book, I claim that the murder of Rabin finally buries the chance of pretending to a monolith, at least psychologically. We can no longer say we are one entity; there is in our midst someone who kills a Prime Minister, it can no longer be denied. So what I'm saying is that there is a process of new information continually being created that no longer allows us to define the monolith unequivocally. There are also two perspectives on this disintegration. Some see it as positive, with the ability to recognize other parts within us, previously unrecognized. The mere ability to identify these other parts, they would say, is something positive, because they have been previously silenced. Here it's relevant to introduce this issue of silencing that I deal with in so much of my work; the silencing of other parts because the monolith forced this silencing. In my first book, my guess was that the next stage that would need to be addressed was the development of a dialogue between different parts that no longer fit together.

After October 2000 and after what happened here in 2001 and after 9/11, I added on another stage; one that comes before dialogue. I call this the neo-monolithic stage, different from the monolithic in that there is no longer one primary thing that is correct. However, there is renewed organization, mainly from the top down, to face the enemy, mainly the external enemy. This re-organization requires some sort of new definition, similar to the previous monolithic definition, but the disintegration of the inner monolith continues. So you are actually caught between two processes that push and pull you in different

directions, so that you no longer know if you're coming or going. This is the stage I would claim we are now in; and not only us, it's also true of the United States. So, if you compare the process, in the U.S., ever since the fall of communism and then 9/11 and the aftermath of 9/11, actually the process is quite similar on a collective level. And I still think that after the monolithic stage, when you see that you can't solve the problem of self-definition, some kind of dialogue must develop between the different parts. It is at this stage, I would claim, that the solution of the process lies in the quality of dialogue between the parts that will dictate identity. Identity will no longer be either this or that, but rather the quality of the dialogue between the parts. This approach is largely based on a Freudian perspective, if you will. So this is what I address in this book, I bring examples from interviews I conducted with various people and I illustrate the different stages through interviews with people such as a soldier who fought in the first Intifada, or someone with shell-shock from the battle in 1948. What I do is demonstrate the processes by these examples, and show how they accumulate over the years. In the section on dialogue, I bring an example of someone who interviewed her father, a Holocaust survivor, as well as an interaction between students revolving around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Now this is the book that seems the most relevant for you. It's a new book that's called *Tell Your Life*, in which I bring additional examples of my work with the Palestinians, as well as some examples of my previous work with the Germans. There I confronted children of Holocaust survivors with children of Holocaust perpetrators. Through this dialogue, it's possible to cope with defensive processes of lowered self esteem that happened mainly with the Germans. I'm not sure you can call these processes defense mechanisms, but, nonetheless, the dialogue created the opportunity to examine things anew. It was a dialogue that continued for many years... it wasn't... and like with all my work, I don't expect.... – and this is in accord with my own psychological leanings – when you prod people's defense mechanisms and

they still need them, they will develop another, more sophisticated type of defense. So it's not actually a process of relaxing one's defense mechanisms; the minute you need a defense mechanism, you will find a way to develop it; there's always material with which to construct new mechanisms.

K: But there is still a kind of hierarchy between the mechanisms themselves; some are considered as more adaptive and some as less.

D: Let's consider, for example, what happened with Oslo in 93. It's an event that contradicts our assumption that the Palestinians want to destroy us.

K: True.

D: See how quickly this feeling was reconstructed and how it can be rebuilt without even asking what we did to...

K: Yes, without so much as looking...

D: Yes, but it's so easy to collect information that they are still...that it's only a stage in the process of them actually trying to destroy us, or, in essence, that paranoia can be constructed to ward off information that has accumulated... you quickly gather other information to re-organize your defense mechanism and let's say... we're... well, very good at it... So it's a good question what can help the collective cope with defense mechanisms. One of the things I suggest in this pamphlet, and we talked about it yesterday, is to leave both sides with their own defense mechanisms, but to create an opening in which it is possible to recognize the other, with your defense mechanisms still intact. It's a very interesting question, I don't know if there is an answer, even theoretically...

K: What do you think?

D: I would think so, because the alternative is a sense of despair, or of burnout. Unfortunately, people tend to learn much more through exhaustion than through any attempt at pre-emptive thinking, particularly when they have an enormous emotional investment in such defense mechanisms. The exhaustion will bring them to a need to re-establish something new, because you feel as if you're losing ground and then you must, in face of this, you must build something new and what this thing is... OK, well then, it's OK to recognize them, they exist. By the way, I think that the Israeli mechanism vis a vis the Palestinians, and as you described previously about yourself, is just to look at what exists, and what we have built for ourselves, and our lives in Israel without... as if they just didn't exist...

K: What do you think contributed to this?

D: Well, I think it was helped... Well, all kinds of things helped it, first of all, a type of Jewish ability, developed over the generations of Diaspora that says that others are not important. In other words, others will be hostile in any case, so we might as well concern ourselves only with ourselves. We're actually able to fulfill all our own needs for understanding otherness, understanding selfhood... and the others, well they just....

K: And we're the "Chosen People"

D: What, oh yes, the "Chosen People", which is to say that there are religious overtones and traditional overtones in the way our understanding developed about who we are and who are the others. I think it was sketched out at the beginning and then underwent a renewed examination during the "Haskala" (enlightenment), when people left their religious frameworks and tried to be like others. This led to a process of opening, but even then, it was enough for one case like the Dreyfus case to come along and close things down again. In other words, it is very interesting to see how we have the uncanny ability to see ourselves as "other" and a need to preserve this otherness in the face of whoever it may be; someone who, as far as we're concerned, is actually irrelevant – we don't see what goes on in him, the

difference there is in him. Also, some of this is based on real fear. After all, the Holocaust was a traumatic, collective event, even for people who did not go through the Holocaust, and for those who did, it's still vivid. Even today, I can still see the influence even on the third generation. So again, some of the influence is real and some is imaginary. There are tensions that exist in the family and absorbed by people and influenced from the way their parents keep silent and then the children didn't attempt to investigate this silence. Such processes are transferred from generation to generation; we know that from other areas as well.

So, I would say that we have this mechanism to not see others and it is quite founded, though I would say it is less founded for the Eastern Jews, an interesting point to check. Actually, I have a doctoral student who is now investigating this question of why the Eastern Jews hate the Palestinians even more, and it's a very basic question, because many of them can tell you stories about positive encounters with the Arabs in their countries of origin. However, they think that that's a different matter all together and has no connection. There's no connection between the two levels; there's an inner split from their previous experiences and their experiences in Israel have nothing to do with a true encounter with Palestinians, but on something imaginary. So they have actually accepted the definition of "Ashkenazi" Jews (from Western Europe) about the Palestinians... and we have it in writing, for example, that one of the things that worried Ben Gurion, was that the new immigrants from the Arab countries would connect with the Arabs. This was actually what was most natural for them... because they see themselves as Jewish Arabs, or, as some of them claim, at least intellectually. So it's a danger to the existence of the State of Israel or, actually a threat to the "Ashkenazi" hegemony.

So I think that we have not actually started to touch upon these issues as a collective, but I think that the Jews who come from Arab countries have other abilities for coping with understanding the otherness of

the Arabs and accepting them, and the Palestinians, because they come from the same cultural roots; the same foods, the same music. So they have a greater potential for considering themselves as belonging with them and not identifying them as others.

K: And yet, if we generalize, and compare them to the “Ashkenazim” they are even further away from tapping this potential.

D: Yes, for them it’s a danger to touch this issue, because it threatens their belonging to the Jewish collective, which they entered as second class citizens and they’re always trying to become first class citizens. Accepting the Arabs threatens this process, that is, there are actually two processes – on the one hand, they could easily connect with the Arabs and on the other hand, since it threatens their acceptance into Jewish society, they will stop this process. There’s a hierarchy here; the process of acceptance into Jewish society is much more important to them than...

K: Threatens their Jewishness or Israeliness?

D: Their belonging to Jewish Israeliness. Naturally, we’re once again talking big generalizations, because if you take a look at them, you’ll see different groups.

Tunisian Jewry, in the Northern cities of Tunisia, is different from Southern Tunisian Jews... so you have to examine all the developments of all the collectives and each of them has different components, but still, within the varying components, you can sense something that is still more dominant.

K: OK

D: And when a new wave of immigration arrives, like, for example, the Russians, it’s only natural that for them to get accepted, they use the same... that is it’s the strategy of a new group that wants to be

accepted and must separate itself from, or ignore or not see the Palestinians as something to connect with....

K: It's a very active "not seeing", isn't it?

D: I think that what makes it even moreso is our general, overall insecurity as a collective. We don't actually have a history of collective existence. The fact that there was once a kingdom of Israel or a kingdom of Judea, two thousand years ago, has no practical implications for... so the attempt to establish the State of Israel after so many years of Diaspora actually promises insecurity in our ability to do it... and there are all these signs indicating that our insecurity is justified and so, in such a case, a defense is....

D: Where were we?

K: On the topic of insecurity

D: Yes, there is insecurity, which is, by the way, shared by us and the Palestinians. They are also very unsure of their collective existence because they actually never had it, and we have this foggy recollection of two thousand years ago....so what characterizes both collectives is that they never had a sovereign country within secure borders. It only ever existed in imagination, never something practical. If you talk with a Frenchman, he has something to lean on; on hundreds of years, and despite this enemy or that enemy, they have had a very gradual development of self definition. I've been told that during the French Revolution, only 16% of the citizens of Paris spoke French.

K: Oh, really???

D: So there too, you can see how the process was very slow and gradual, meaning, for example with language, there is no doubt that one of the smartest things the first Zionists did was to revive the Hebrew language and to create a language, as a mechanism that would separate us from "others". And

so, even though Arabic is so close to Hebrew, it is perceived as much, much further than English or French.

K: Right.

D: We also have a mental affinity, we feel so much more attached to what's going on in London or Paris or New York than in Damascus, Amman and Riyadh. These places seem so much further. So, it's quite interesting how we've managed to create such a mental distance, in time and space, even though at least large sectors of our people are actually, by tradition, much more connected to what happens in Amman or in Algeria and other, closer cities.

K: I have two questions.

D: Yes

K: Two directions

D: Yes

K: First, about security, in my experience, and for many of my generation, we lived on an illusory sense of security for many, many years. I honestly and truly, as much as it must sound naïve and childish, believed that the I.D.F. (Israel Defense Force) was the strongest in the world and that our country was the strongest, and I truly believed it. And again, maybe it has to do with sobering up to reality, or something that forces us to recognize things that weren't in my range, or I think in the range of many like me. There are so many Israelis, like me, who had this sense of security, a kind of omnipotence in a way, with all kinds of grandiose slogans at it's core... so that's one thing that I'd like to discuss, this false sense of security....

D: When you describe this process you say that there weren't materials, that you didn't read things that would force you to encounter possibilities that would question your assumptions?

K: Very little. When I think about it now, that I'm so exposed to these materials, to the extent that I even feel a little unbalanced, I try to think in retrospect ... and I can say there was very little... and even if it existed, it was always, somehow portrayed in light of... I can suddenly remember that a demonstration was staged in Haifa by the extreme left, but somehow at home they were regarded as crazy, extreme, and that was that... they'd been labelled. After all, its quite unpleasant when something in your sense of security is undermined, so you immediately look for answers...

D: Something to hold on to...

Listen, that's just it, just like someone from North Ireland once told me... he said... in 74 we were so close to an agreement between the Catholics and the Protestants, but it was an agreement of the Fast Learners, and we had many Slow Learners. So they needed another 25 years of learning until they reached today's agreement and I'm not sure that we don't have Some Very Slow Learners, that might need another 25 years.... I think he described very well the process that I call exhaustion. It frustrates me that people only seem to learn by attrition, but what you are describing is a process that must have exhausted you... You needed a war and another war and another war, including the Second Lebanon War, to actually clarify for you the fact that the I.D.F. has absolutely no advantage in this situation and that nothing will happen through military means. And we still have so many people who are Very Slow Learners, who need another twenty five years... So my claim is that on the political level, even Lieberman... with another ten thousand dead... will eventually reach the conclusion that a peace agreement must be reached with the Palestinians. And even, take for example, the next extremist in line, well.... the problem is only a question of the price that we and they have to pay before this process will happen.... and it shows you how we learn and that, in fact, is the disadvantage of the collective

subject to a state of insecurity and fear and uncertainty about its existence... that it's learning process only comes about by attrition and...

K: How exhausted do you think we are now?

D: Quite exhausted. First of all, we're more tired because one of the interesting things that has happened in the last two or three years is, let's say, if at the beginning of the Intifada, the structuring or the projection was that all the evil was theirs, in them, and we contained all the good, in the past few years we've begun to understand that we also have warts and lots of evil; we're also not made of one slab. And that's exactly the process that I'm talking about; the understanding that if we also have evil in our midst, then maybe there's something good about them. They're also going through a similar process, the Palestinians. The struggle between the Fatkh and the Hamas shows that in both collectives there are processes indicating the understanding of the reality that with us and with them, there is also something good. This leads to the development of the possibility of beginning a dialogue. But I can't tell you how long we'll be able to hold out, and it may definitely happen that there will be a phase... just this morning I read an article that there may be a phase of some kind of beginning of a renewed peace process. However, within this process, someone will once again blurt out that come on now, let's preserve our advantage after all... lets still try and win... and as long as this is the attitude, it will always bring us back to square one. In other words, time after time there's an attempt to set things right, but still to act under a more global, overall conception that we have to win and they have to lose. So we won't get too far, because on this matter they're stubborn, and justifiably so, because they've been backed up against the wall.

K: Yes.

D: You're also dealing with someone who has nothing to lose and that kind of enemy is much more difficult to face than one who does have something to lose and is therefore willing to take another step

forward and who's worried about what... but with them, there are whole sectors of the population that are on the verge of hunger... that's an enemy who is much, much more difficult for us to face.

K: So, can we say that because of this despair, that has ultimately exhausted us, we, as individuals and as a collective; we face the erosion of our silencing and there's a development in the direction of... and I'm trying to put it in the jargon of defense mechanisms... there's an erosion of the lower defense mechanisms – for example, total denial, which I grew up on, on denial, repression, or a very clear split – and some kind of development?

D: I think that the development will remain marginal, but I do think that there are new sectors who are ready, and we spoke about this yesterday, in our population and in theirs, who are ready to look at the “other”; they're ready to look at the others in a more positive light, or at least try to do so. So I think that it's a process that must be continued. In other words, till now, it's been amazing that all the groups that worked together have had no influence whatsoever on the political level, nothing at all. Nevertheless, at a certain stage, there has to be a critical mass that will be able to see that something is happening here, and then, the politicians will have to pay attention; and the educational level as well. Listen, for example, in the Oslo agreement, there was not a single section about education.... even in the Geneva initiative there was no mention of education... how is that possible?

K: True

D: You construct a process and you don't even think about the educational aspects. So, these things will have to be introduced more into the mainstream, into the locii of power. I also think that parallel to this, some of the politicians in the mainstream will be people who have had positive experiences with... For example, I once asked Ami Ayalon this question, what you told me before... about when you changed your opinion about Palestinians.... I was sure that he, as the head of the Security Forces (Shabac) and a commander in the Navy never had the opportunity to change his attitudes. He told me a very interesting

story, that when he was here in the States on a Sabbatical, he was in a group run by Herb Kelman and that was the first time he heard Palestinians. So, during that year, he first began to think and it undermined his understanding of our superiority and their inferiority and he had to begin to think in different terms.

K: And all those years when he was in those positions, he never heard Palestinians? It's quite appalling to hear it...

D: He had never heard Palestinians.

K: It's so one-sided, how everything's structured and who sits there and... it's just frightening...

D: I can promise you that most of our statesmen, if you ask them this question, have you ever sat down and met a Palestinian personally, not as a laborer or as a soldier you're up against....

K: Yes

D: Or some other kind of asymmetrical relationship such as with your gardener.... but a Palestinian you can talk to eye to eye.... I can promise you that most people have not had any such experience and that has got to change. It's also got to change with regard to Arabic and the whole attitude about living in the Middle East has got to change and be considered something positive.... I do believe that most of our people would still prefer to have Europe come here to the Middle East.

Keren: How true.

D: But not to really be part of the Middle East, so I think that a long list of things has to take place simultaneously.... some people are already there, but there are entire populations that haven't even begun at all, because they don't yet have sense of urgency, that this is what has to happen, and not everyone has had a chance like yours....

K: That's for sure

D: To be at Lesley and to meet Yousef and...

K: Right

D: And also, to be in a more relaxed atmosphere and a little less... mmmm.... less of the daily rat race of life in Israel that doesn't actually let you think.... So I think that if this process is to happen in a positive vein, that is what needs to happen... and if it doesn't... it will only be more exhaustion, more tiredness and more people will give in to despair and will leave.... they won't be able to stand it.... and maybe some of the people will see their way through the exhaustion to what you have reached, in a similar, positive way that you have reached it....

K: So, for example, the media...

D: Mmmmm

K: I'm trying, and I don't know if maybe I'm just trying to force myself to be positive, but still, listen, in the Second War of Lebanon I was here, but because my family is from Haifa and I'm very involved, very Israeli, I got the feeling that somehow the media was making much more room for other opinions. There was also a lot of criticism in real-time...and it wasn't necessarily anything to do with defenses, it seemed more developed, it left more room for other voices.... what do you think?

D: I think that first of all, you were influenced by the fact that you were on the outside.

K: OK

D: (chuckling) I think that someone on the inside experienced it much more negatively. Meaning that he still heard the war bells tolling and he heard those who said that we're going to beat them... he could still hang on to this possibility. But I also agree with you that the options are widening in these

directions... and I don't know, for example, I don't know what paper you read, but I read Ha'aretz and the mere fact that we have two people such as Gidon Levi and Amira Hess, though most people don't read what they write, but still, the mere fact that such an important paper in Israel has people like this on its staff writing daily for so many years about what's going on with the Palestinians... it's a remarkable achievement... there's nothing in the U.S. to compare with it.

K: You're right.

D: Imagine two journalists here writing from the Iraqi perspective about what's going on in Iraq. I think it's part of the weakness of the system here, even though it's supposedly so democratic.

K: Yes

D: So accordingly, we know that even a democracy can still distort information, because there are psychological processes that lead people to listen only to certain things and not listen to others.

K: And it's still only two, and only at Ha'aretz that to begin with is a more intellectual newspaper.

D: Well, yes, they are really... there are some other writers who are willing to write, but it's true, yes, I agree with you that in general the situation is not good, as far as our ability to feel the Palestinians, to identify with them, to understand what's happening with them; how they have to live alongside us, and even just try and put yourself for one day in the reality of a Palestinian who lives in Bethlehem and has to go through the road blockades every day... how would you, if you wouldn't set off bombs on the other side... that is... that sentence that Barak once said...

K: Right

D: That no one continued... in other words, even he didn't remain faithful to what he'd said... about the ability to put yourself in someone else's place... and that's one of our weakest points... as far as our abilities go.

K: And you think that we're still as far from this point as we were, let's say, ten or twenty or thirty years ago?

D: It's hard to say how much, but our progress is so minute... you know these things don't develop in linear fashion... so it can be that at a certain stage, when a possibility develops, there might suddenly be a huge leap forward, for lots of people, and it will start being seen in the media and become a fact of our daily routine that we have to live with them and recognize them, but even then it will still be quite superficial... and we're talking about a much deeper process. Deeper processes don't happen in linear fashion and they don't happen fast. That's why my first question to you, as someone who described role playing and how it helps with projection, my first question was, OK, what happens the following week... and I think that usually these things are very slow processes and you have to work on them for a very long time and to create a framework that gives you a sense of ease and security, so that you'll even be ready to touch upon such deep things.... and it's very hard in Israel to create such conditions, because there are always things happening that seem to verify... my image is that even if you are ready to hang your armor and your weapons on a hook on the wall, you still want them in easy reach, should you need to get them. And that's pretty much what has happened to us during the past few years. For example, when I take a look at Sadat's visit in 77 and the ensuing peace with Egypt and then the Oslo agreements and the peace with Jordan —each of these positive turning points was accompanied by a huge amount of information or information that was inflated to cause us to immediately grab our armor and retrieve our weapons and think again how we can beat them, because if not, we'll be in the sea....

K: Because we're that scared? Because our anxiety is so great that...?

D: Let's say that at the very least, it has a realistic basis....

K: Yes

D: The realistic basis is that a third of our people have been destroyed, not all that many years ago, and it happened in the middle of civilization. Now we're in the Middle East, we're faced with Iran; it would seem now that things are much worse and there are lots of nations that we don't understand and they don't understand us. We perceive ourselves with the realistic basis of our difficulty of living in the Middle East. Objectively, it is undoubtedly a hard place to live. Even if there will be peace with the Palestinians, there will still be lots of problems in these nations that will have implications for us. For example, should there suddenly be a huge religious, Moslem, wave, naturally, it will affect the willingness to accept or not accept us. So we're dependent on things, over which we have no influence, and we don't like being in this situation. And, at the moment, we have the feeling that we still have some kind of control, but the moment we give up territories, and the moment we give up the army as the tool that most aptly expresses us, will we still have control? And in truth, realistically, it's impossible to guarantee that there will really be control. Which is to say that there's a risk in the process... so I don't underestimate the risks and I think, therefore, that we are still in situations where our defense mechanisms are still, at least partially, based on an understanding of reality and not just on an interpretation of reality. The problem lies precisely in the part that is making overgeneralizations, so how can this part be treated? ... the problem is not to address the entire defense mechanism, but only the overflow, the part that causes us to distort reality. Even you say that when you were here and there were rockets over Haifa, the first thing that worried you was what was happening to your relatives... and I think that that's the natural process that we all undergo, so, we can't just ignore the fact that at such a time we won't be preoccupied with the Palestinians...

K: I had a very hard time then with Yousef.

D: One of the things for which I praise our teachers is that we met for a week in Germany in August last year and I was sure that most of the teachers wouldn't come. Most of them did come. One teacher from Kfar Vradim didn't come because she didn't want to leave her family and another teacher from the Palestinian side didn't come. And it was so amazing that they showed up. It gave me the assurance that we are really doing something valuable, that even in such a hard situation, most of the teachers are still willing to show up.

Keren: And while you were there....

D: Naturally there was tension, no doubt the tension was there, but we addressed it. And Sami and I let people talk about things. And the most moving moment was when the week was over and one of the Palestinian teachers suggested that we all get up, take hands and think about someone who had died in this war, without mentioning if it was from this side or that.... so that these processes can work, but so far, we only know how to do them on a small scale, we don't yet know how to do them on the macro level, on the macro level, it still isn't working.

K: And is that direction it's taking, in your opinion?

D: Some day it will go there, I think that some day the Ministry of Education will have to think about how to develop materials that will teach our children not to hate the Arabs, because it's no longer functional for them. But how can we get there, our interests are still elsewhere, in other materials, but it's entirely clear that thought must be invested that will serve Israel's future interests.

K: Do you think that the Ministry of Education is aware of the kind of work that you're doing? Is there any kind of negotiation to...?

D: We've been, well, we've been very bruised by the Ministry of Education under Limor Livnat. And now, take a look at Yuli Tamir as the Minister of Education – she doesn't even know if she'll be around in

another few months. If, for example, Avishai Braverman is posted in the Ministry of Education, I will certainly approach him. I have the kind of relationship with him that I guess can... and he also knows Sami.... there are some... I hope there will be some people that I'll be able to talk to.... if Ami Ayalon and Braverman from Labor get in..... I think that Tzippi Livni is more open-minded than Olmert, though I just read a very harsh article about her....about what she's ready to.... but the process will enter the political level.... there will be a process, because we've chosen politicians who actually serve our defense mechanisms.

K: Right

D: And not those who would re-examine them....

K: Well, I'm trying to think about how we can close this. Maybe I'm trying too hard again to be optimistic, and without justification... or maybe, it's really my assumption that I have to check and see if it's not mistaken... but I can here with a kind of assumption, or I'm trying to live with a kind of assumption, and I'll go back to observing myself for a moment... As far as I'm concerned, a Palestinian state, which in the past was non-existent for me, then was something that was born with difficulty, and now it's... well it's not something that I even... it's a clearly existent fact...it's something that has to happen. So, as you were saying, it's really not linear and not like every year you progress a little further.... the leaps were actually enormous and there was some detachment between cognitive understanding and emotional understanding... there still is... and maybe this detachment is inevitable for the Israeli collective, but, nonetheless, we can see some development. It's slow, it's quite lame, but you know, it's still happening and I, and many other Israelis like me.... well a Palestinian state.... Today it's a fact that just has to be... and the same goes for the despair, we've had enough and how much more of a price are we going to have to pay? We've all understood that we've been hurt and wounded enough.

So maybe, just maybe what we have here is some development and some groups like yours... I think Sabine said yesterday that there are about 100 dialogue groups.... Isn't that something to hang on to? Isn't the development nevertheless in the direction of growth... in the direction of...?

D: Yes, well, let's put you to some tests... tell me, are you learning Arabic?

K: No.

D: That's one test and I think it's a very important one... well then, will you see to it that your children learn Arabic?

K: I don't know if I'll have my children learn Arabic, but I've made sure to have my daughter, the older one who's out of the house, meet Yousef's daughter....

D: OK, that's progress

K: I know, but just to give you an idea about how deeply rooted things are.... we were invited to a Palestinian event, and we went, not that it wasn't with some difficulty at home, but... we went... my husband, me and my little girl. We arrived and it was very, very hard, a hall full of Palestinians, and my husband... who is very tall and my daughter who is very loud....

D: mmmm

K: We arrived two minutes late and all eyes were turned on us, that, I guess was the scariest part... 200, no, 400 pairs of Palestinian eyes taking us in and I felt guilty from the top of my head to the soles of my feet...

D: I, by the way, make sure never to put myself in such a position.

K: Yes

D: I don't think it's very healthy for us

K: True, it's very confronting....

D: We need to feel that we're not a minority and, well, in our groups, for example, we could have brought Israeli Palestinian teachers and Palestinian teachers from the territories, along with the Jewish teachers. But we decided not to go that way, because we wanted each group to feel on equal footing with the other and if we'd brought three groups, the Jews would have been the minority.... and, at least at the first stages, that would heighten the anxiety.

K: Yes, so, as soon as their performance started, my daughter yells out in unmistakable Hebrew – I don't like this language (Arabic) let's leave.... and she knows Yousef's daughter since she was.... since they played together as babies... so she's been exposed to the language.... but still.....

D: Well, there are three schools now in Israel that are bi-lingual

K: Yes

D: Three schools, which is more than nothing....

K: True

D: But that just shows you the pace of things. I purposely asked you the question I did before because it's obvious that at least part of our defense is to not understand their language. The moment we will understand their language, we will be less anxious, because we'll understand what they're saying and not everything they're saying is that they want to slaughter us or "Allah Akhbar" (God is the greatest)....

K: Or to throw us in the sea

D: Yes, so I think that understanding the language is helpful. I, by the way, suffer from the same fault. I know too little Arabic for what I want to do and Sami doesn't know enough Hebrew. We've promised that at some stage or other, we'll have to devote more time to learning each other's language. So I think that learning the language is a very important part of the process.

Then, I can ask you more difficult questions, for example, if you'd be willing for your daughter to marry a Palestinian, if she chose to do so, that is, if she'd meet someone and fall in love and want to.... I can imagine your answer....

K: It's not easy.... I'm ashamed to appear unenlightened, but my instinct is to....

D: No, no, it's far better to talk about these things openly. Let's say that on a scale of 1 to 10, we're now somewhere between 1 and 2.... and I think it's better than 0..... We were at -2.....

K: Right

D: So now, we're somewhere between 1 and 2. But the chance that we'll proceed to reach 6,7,8,9... well there are many, many tests in the process.... over and above the political side and the wars and all the other troubles.... this is what will give us an indication that we're at least in the right direction. And, by the way, when our businessmen will do more business in Damascus than they do in New York, meaning that there are more decisive parameters showing that we've merged into the Middle East, and solved our existential problems... not by military power, but how we should solve them.... in a way that gives us at least a sense of security in our existence... and you don't have to wake up every morning with anxiety about what will happen to your child when she takes off to school....

K: You think we'll see it in our lifetime?

D: I'm not sure.... if we know that we're making progress, if we're able in our lifetime to reach, let's say somewhere between a 4 and a 5, when we started from 0... and then inched our way to 1 and to 2.... let's say that....

K: It's plenty

D: We've done something on behalf of the matter... and I'm not putting myself in the position... when I saw Saadat get off the plane, I was sitting with my 10 year old son and I told him... you're seeing something that I didn't believe I'd see in my lifetime.... and now... so we've seen things happening... we've also seen some very bad things.... but...

So, somehow there's a process of development, but we have to accept that the pace of it is much, much slower than we'd like to see and we're limited by constraints that are not always external constraints..... I once said that if every Israeli family, just like you describe your relationship with Yousef, if every family would get acquainted with a Palestinian family and vice versa, the conflict wouldn't be able to continue, it would be obliged to be resolved.... only acquaintance would resolve it, because it (the conflict) would be countered by the personal acquaintance and personal caring and what's doing with him and how's he getting along.... and I know, as a fact, from Sami and from myself, a relationship that's been going on for many years...but... there's really a true friendship, meaning.... well, it can form, somewhere along the process....

K: Well... I still have this desire to finish things off optimistically.... (laughing...)

D: (Laughing)

K: Is there anything else that you think can....?

D: I think that your idea of facing the issue using the defense mechanisms is a good idea; testing situations in which the mechanisms are more active or where they are more relaxed; how trust is generated.... I imagine that you know how to make these distinctions... and also my criticism of the literature on psychological defense mechanisms on a personal level, that it's often possible to dismantle defense mechanisms rather too quickly. Even individuals have the need to retain the mechanisms or at least part of them.... much more than psychologists tend to assume.... and also our ability to work on just the part of the mechanism that I call the dysfunctional part.... rather than to incinerate the entire mechanism, because the need for it is basically healthy.... and people shouldn't be taught just to let go of it...

K: Yes.

D: ...because it's dangerous for them.... so I think that the same criticism applies to the collective level and we shouldn't aim for not being afraid at all.... we will still be afraid... and yet, along with our fear..... maybe we'll do a few things.... together with them.... and that will be our test....

K: OK

D: Well then....

K: Thank you very much, I've learned a lot.

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